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Archaeology, Population and Development *

R. N. Mehta +

Archaeology like geology is a field science that searches the relics of bygone human populations and projects the picture of technical development beginning from stone tools, to those of copper, iron and steel, the manufacture of ceramics, metallurgy etc. In the field of collecting and consuming food, it shows the development from the reliance on the natural supply of vegetable and non-vegetable items, to the growth of knowledge of agriculture and animal husbandary. It not only gives him steady supply of most of his requirements of food, but takes care of his clothing, decorations etc. It also has given him the opportunity to stay at one place for a long time. These facts that are gleaned from the study of Archaeology indicates that it has some capacity to throw light on the history of the problems of population and development in different countries and chronologies.

For, this study of population and development, it could be recalled that it is multi-chronic or bi-chronic in time dimension, and in space it is dependent on the study of the habitats, and behaviour on the time-scale. From this spatio-temporal scale this article examines, the results of the activity of archaeology in Gujarat. Significantly archaeological sites of various phases of palaeolithic period are known from different parts of Gujarat. They indicate the presence of Human population. It is difficult to find the numerical strength of the earliest inhabitants of Gujarat. The only assumption that small bands of families might be living in different parts and migrating according to seasonal variations of climate. From the geological and climatological angle, these groups were living in the area where their basic requirements of tools would be met with. In the eastern hilly region, and riparian terrain with available raw materials for tools the population was thinly spread. At some sites their tools are found in the condition in which they were left, while at others they were transported by water action and redeposited. From the available evidence it is not easy to comment on the numerical strength of this population, till one comes to the last stage of Stone Age.

In the last phase of the Stone-Age, evidence of its overlap and some survivals in the succeeding chalcolithic age exists. During this phase, the first step, domestica-

* Talk given in the Anthropology and Archaeology section [of Indian Science Congress at Vadodari in Jan., 1992.

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tion of animals was undertaken, and agriculture also was practiced during the period of the over-lap.

The first villages came into existence. Their study indicates the presence of a few huts scattered in some groups as well as existing near each other. The area occupied by these huts does not exceed 100 × 100 meters and if the calculations of the population be made, it could be noted that it might not be more than a few hundred souls. The larger habitations also indicate a range of about 500 meters. Much larger settlements are still to be traced. With this size and some reliance on non-agricultural activities their population size might be around some thousand souls. Though, this number does not seem very high as compared to the present, it was much, compared to the earlier period. Agricultural base and industrial development seem to be the reason of the growth of population. But archaeology indicates that the sites occupied by this population were abandoned, indicating the search for reasons of the break in development. ~

The reasons of this shift are not properly known. The hiatus in the stratigraphic record is a challenge to the archaeology, but the ceramic traditions of a few varieties like the black-and-red ware, crude gritty ware continued in some parts. At different sites they indicate continuity and change, one does not know the reasons of this hiatus and some continuity. As the sites do not give evidence of human causes for destruction natural causes are assumed. Further work is essential to solve this riddle.

As indicated above, the population with the ceramic traditions of the early period and change in the tool-technology, that is, the knowledge of iron smelting seem to have led to the growth of other settlements. Some of them begin on the old site, some near them and some are new settlements. It is to be noted that the evidence of these early-Iron-age-sites have suffered. They are not explored to the extent that they deserve, so a skew-view about the abundance of the former and paucity of the latter generates. Giving due emphasis to this accident of research one gets an impression of existence of more cities during this period as compared to the earlier one. Their area also is a little more as could be seen at Nagara, Somnath, Kamrej and other sites. From this period, development of settlements present different pictures. At places like Bharuch, the development is well marked, that at Timbarva it collapsed after development. Nagara indicates similar features, but here the collapse is partial, and, therefore, these early settlements suggest that the development of population is not linear, but irregular. The technological growth is to be inferred from the use of more iron and its smelting sites of a little later period indicates growth of these industrial complexes, that existed for some time and disappeared later on from the site under study. The trend is that of development of villages and towns or the Janapadas, that began in the earlier period, has expanded. Now the towns of larger dimensions but not much larger than a square kilometer are seen. The famous cities in this region in the period prior to about 1000 A.D. are smaller as compared to the present but larger in comparison to the preceding one are noted. Smaller settle-

ments like Akota, the predecessor of present day Vadodara, Karvan, the centre of the Lakulīśa pāśupata sect, Kamrej, Bharuch, well-known port, Shamlaji etc., indicate the area of about 25 sq. kilometers to about one square kilometer. Valabhi, the capital of the Maitrakas also shares this feature. Around this central area peripheral dispersed population could be traced. If this area of suburban nature also be taken into consideration a picture of bigger cities than noted above could be drawn.

These centres with their archaeological remains suggest larger population reaching upto about ten thousand souls in bigger settlements and possibly about five thousand or less in the smaller ones, when compared to preindustrial phase of some settlements. The development potential of these settlements indicate their far flung commercial enterprises reaching up to Europe in the west and up to Central Asia and China in the east. This is evident from material and literary data. The problem of water, specially for agriculture and in lean season was solved by earth works, that effectively gathered the rain water. Sometime these were isolated, but often they were built in a series. It is interesting to note that not only they collected and stored the rain-water, but also helped to charge the potable under-ground water resources to a considerable degree.

Significantly archacological studies indicate that many of these developmental projects were ruined, the population seems to have disappeared from the sites without the evidence of warfare or possible use of force at all places. The reasons are not properly known. What happened ?

This question is difficult to answer. At different centers different reasons could be adduced. The collapse of the population at Akota was possibly due to the floods of Vishvamitri, Valabhi suffered due to war, reasons of collapse of Shamlaji are not properly understood, Nagara collapsed due to the change of the Port-facilities. At all these centers enough evidence of this collaps exists. The period of about 8th/9th century is indicated at some sites. This feature suggests either total annihilation of population or its movement from one centre to another. The gathering evidence shows divergent trends. Shamlaji, a centre in Sabarkantha district was deserted and its population of the Nima vaṇikas and Audumbara Brāhmins have scattered in the Sabarkantha and Panchamahals. Valabhi was also destroyed, but its population of Valam brahmins, Vala, Gohil, Rajputs, Vaishyas, had migrated to the interior and moved upto Rajasthan. Other instances of different groups moving out from one centre to the others in search of safety and resources could be cited. They suggest the collapse of an order, development comes to a stand still, population gets dispersed over wider territots or is partly destroyed. This picture is a partial story. The other side of the coin is equally interesting. Akota was partly deserted, but Vadodara, a suburb near it prospered. Karvan continued to exist, Bharuch has the same story. Nagara was partly abandoned for the new settlement of Cambay at a distance of about three kilometers to the south. These Shifts in the population and desertition

are at the most local phenomenon of the change of nucleus, and hence compared to the dispersal marked from some centers, the effects of these shifts is more localised.

Another interesting phenomenon is that of the beginning of new settlements in different areas. Dabhoi near Vadodara develops into a town with its fortifications, in central Gujarat. In North Gujarat Modhera seems to suffer, but continues its existence. However, Chanasma and Anhilwad patan grow up. Similar is the story of Chandravati and Arthuna. Thus a complex phenomenon of growth of some centres, collapse either complete or partial of other centres, is witnessed. These two phenomena point to a shift of population, end of development at some centres, beginning of the process of growth of population and development at other centres is witnessed by archaeological work.

Interestingly at Chanasma, that developed in the pasture land, the development pattern was around agriculture and cattle breeding, with commercial interests playing some role. But Anhilwad patan, also developed in the pasture land had a different story. Its development was based on political aspirations of its founding-fathers, the Chāvādās and their successors, the Chaulakyas, Vaghelas, the provincial governors and the early sultans of Gujarat, upto the end of the 14th century.

Anhilwad patan had its centre on the Sahasraliṅga tank in the area of Junigadhi, and population was existing in the Anawada area. It developed as a state capital with a grand scheme of a large water reservoir, the Sahasraliṅga. It was a development scheme that was completed by Durlabha, but it failed within a century and had to be renovated by Siddharāja. It survives as a ruin but it was a short lived development scheme on which instead of water fields exist. The town was large about 1.5 sq. kilometers in area, when contemporary chandrāvati of about one sq. kilometers, and Arthuna, a little smaller than Chandravati are seen as state capitals, one is surprised to find the disparity in the verbal glories sung about them and the archaeological relics. The former though magnificent in their own right, indicate that hyperbole often ruled the roost.

The size of all these centres, is comparatively larger than the one that was witnessed in the earlier period. If the size is any criterion, the population was larger as compared to the early period. Their construction for development, specially the water reservoirs was also a little larger, but the system seems to be uniform to a great extent.

This is the result of the natural environment.

Moreover, the tapping of underground water of the first aquafer that was being enriched also have left more evidence. Whether it is only an accident of survival or a fact requires further work to ascertain the situation.

However, archaeology of about 13th century indicates, disintegrated political power. This feature has witnessed the presence of memorial stones of the heroes

who laid down their lives in defending the settlements and their wealth. The consequent result is the temporary halt of development, distressed population and political turmoil, that settled after a few decades.

One witnesses, the same phenomenon in the succeeding centuries in the growth of Ahmedabad, Surat, Champaner, Cambay, Junagadh and other centres. They also indicate various aspects, growth of population, its decay, dispersal as well as the efforts of development, their success and failure. These could not be presented in a small paper, but a few features of population and development could be suggested.

It is seen that at local levels, the existence of population and its activities suggest its existence and desertation, at many sites, after some lapse of time the area seems to be reoccupied and the story repeats. These oscillations reveal that the population makes an effort to develop regional facilities according to its requirement. These developmental efforts also have their own stories of continued existence and utter failure, to a repetition and reuse, or entire neglect and disappearance.

In these shifting changes and cycles of origin, existence and annihilation, the available evidence suggests that human populations have continued to grow at a steady rate as witnessed by ever enlarging habitats from a few huts to megalopolies on regional scale. This growth had taken place due to human will and effort at the cost of environment or in accordance with it. The environmental degradation had taken a good toll of population by famine and pestilence, shortage of resources and secured its balance as a human body regains its energy after rest. This continuous inter play of human effort and environmental factors is clearly seen at many sites that were bereft of the population responsible for their development, both at local and regional levels of the habitable part of our terrestrial space-ship. Archaeological studies indicate these cyclic phenomena in many variations in Gujarat and the picture is not different in other countries. They suggest that with proper care of environment, survival for much longer period with little shifts in the local nucleus is witnessed. Over exploitation of the region had devastated many settlements in the past, due to crop failure, destruction of developmental processes due to a variety of reasons, and as noted on some sites, they become the haunts of wild life, where haughty high ups in the society lived. These are the indications of what lies in future, as with our technology, the habitable parts are treated as a single site that is over exploited for its resources. Archaeological study strikes a note of caution to this craze for notions of development and suggests that the activities within limits are good. Overstepping them in the past had proved disastrous. History or archaeology only illustrates these efforts, it has no power to teach.

The Story of the Harappan Civilization : New Perspectives

Y. M. Chitalwala*

In the last decade many Harappan sites have come under the spade of archaeologists in the sub-continent. In fact the list of excavated sites or those which are still under excavations is a long one and the results of all these archaeological activities has provided vital evidence to view the Harappan Civilization in a new light. Gujarat, particularly Saurashtra and Kutch have become darling to archaeologists as a number of excavations have already been conducted. To name a few, the Gujarat State Department of Archaeology in collaboration with the Deccan College dug at Kuntasi in the Maliya Taluka of Rajkot. The excavations retrieved the remains of a Harappan port engaged in long distance trade. The M. S. University excavated at Nagvada in the Surendranagar district and found pre-Harappan stratum underlying the Mature Harappan Phase. However, the most important large-scale excavations being conducted at present are those on the mounds of Dholavira which have unearthed some spectacular finds. The well laid out, fortified and compartmentalized Harappan city can vie with Mohenjo-daro in its spread and planning. The find of a terracotta plaque with Harappan letters is unique as it has not been found from anywhere including Sind. This excavations 'galore has doubtlessly led to much rethinking on the subject, yet each excavator seems to be tending his own cabbage patch and there is no intensive discussion on the data retrieved or co-ordination of research strategies. The result is that vital issues are being swept under the carpet in an anxiety to claim to be first on the moon in this article an attempt has been made to discuss the emergent picture of the Harappan civilization on the basis of new data that is now available.

When John Marshall excavated Mohenjo-daro in the early twenties, there was an implicit belief that the West Asiatic background loomed large on the horizon and all that was west of the Indus was foreign to India's personality. "Beyond the Indus India changes its colours" was the Kiplinesque refrain that stood in the way of visualizing India's true greatness. It was thought that the nearest source on which the Harappans drew was Mesopotamia from where some "genius dictators" had

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brought the idea of sophisticated urban existence. But in the last two decades the perspective has changed as earlier phases of the Harappan culture were encountered at a number of settlements like Kot-diji, Kalibangan, Gumla, Hathala and Banawali. The Quetta valley had already shown the existence of the early farming communities. Near Taxila the site of Sarai-Khola revealed the formative stage of the Neolithic settlers. Still hesitation persisted and there was no clear attempt to break away from West Asiatic moorings. Only in the beginning of this decade diggings at the site of Mehrgarh on the Bolan river in Baluchistan done by a French team under Dr. Jarrige began to tell a different story. It was found the precursors of the Harappan Civilization had rather a humble beginning going back to 7000 B. C. It was during this time that a small group of people settled down on a piece of land and started to tend their herds and tilled the earth in a limited manner. By 5000 B. C. the Neolithic settlements began to flourish and many items including pottery came into use. The terracotta figurines began to appear and these are the earliest specimen found in the sub-continent. The cultural succession progressed to early Harappan levels and the meaning of this began to be appreciated. The dawn of the Indian civilization could clearly be discerned and it was time the theory of the West Asiatic origins be thrown overboard. This marks a great moment as India was saved of an original sin viz. Taking the formative spark of civilized life from an alien source. This apart, it also became clear that urbanization had an early beginning and the first rudiments of city life began in the Early Harappan times as evidenced at Rehman-dheri in 2600 B. C. The new evidence coming from Dholavira in Kutch also points to massive building activities during the Early Harappan phase. Chronologically, therefore, the Harappan culture is brought closer to its Mesopotamian counterpart if not earlier. The Neolithic levels of Mehrgarh are comparable datewise to Jarmo (Iraq), Jericho (Palestine) and Ain Ghazal (Jordan). The contacts that the Harappans developed with the Gulf countries, based on maritime trade, also points to an earlier date going back to a time prior to King Sargon of Akkad (2350 B. C.). The chronological position of the Harappan culture in Kutch-Saurashtra zone also argues for an early date. The Rojdi excavations have yielded a series of radiocarbon dates going earlier than 2500 B. C. Kuntasi dates suggest a time bracket of 2300-1700 B. C. and Lothal, 2400-1800 B. C. Now Dholavira (Kutch) with its Early Harappan levels and a "millennium" of Harappan Stratigraphic overburden would vie with Harappa and Mohenjo-daro for an early date. The date of 2350-1750 B. C., therefore, needs to be discarded.

The area of Harappan cultural impact measures from Afghan Baluch border to the Godavari Basin and from Makran coast to Western U. P. a total area of 800, 000 km. This is the biggest ever spread for a bronze age civilization and naturally many scholars find it expedient to talk in terms of an Harappan empire with the twin cities of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa serving as its flash-points. It was also assumed that the areas outside the Indus zone proper, like Gujarat, Rajasthan and

Haryana formed peripheral areas where Harappan culture was introduced by means of waves of migrations. The Harappans in these areas were by implication, late comers on the scene. It was also assumed that these Harappans had carried with them a watered down version of socio-cultural life and hence they gradually "degenerated" and disappeared. Latest evidence points to the contrary. Geopolitically though entire western India made a single unit, at micro-level it had various shades of Harappan political control. The bigger cities were under the direct dispensation of chief administrators or plenipotentiaries of a centralized authority. The "peripheral" areas stood on the same footing as the central zone and there were many more cities than the "twin capitals" Apart from Mohenjo-dero and Harappa, Ganweriwala (Bhawalpur), Rakhigahi (Taryana) Dholavira (Kutch) and Lothal on Saurashtra Coast are other urban centres with well developed economical infrastructure.

The recent excavations at Dholavira have unearthed parts of a great metropolis spreading over an area of 100 hectares with compartmentalized planning and double fortifications. The Early Harappan levels push back the beginning of settled life at Dholavira to at least 2600 B. C. on the present evidence and this writer will not be surprised if it is taken earlier. Clearly, therefore, the Harappans not only found their settlements in the greater Indus valley but at the same time in areas like Kutch and Haryana. Cities like Dholavira were more centres of primary economic activities than secondary outposts of alien invaders. The use of polished sandstone pillars, their pulley shaped bases and a large terracotta plaque with Harappan letters have not been reported even from Mohenjo-dero or Harappa. Architecturally highly polished sandstone pillars are ascribed of the Mauryas, particularly to Ashoka. But now their use goes back to at least 2500 B. C. Therefore, we Indians are not in debt even on this score to the Achaemenians. It is apparent that a concomitant cultural facies had developed in areas outside the Indus zone proper. The large site of Dholavira its high mounds rising from the edge of the dismal vista of the great Rann disappearing in the shimmering horizon tell a story which is no less glorious than what we hear from Sind.

The tradition of multiple fortifications probably developed outside the Indus zone and Dholavira might have seen the beginnings of such a development. Apart from the urban settlement proper, a number of walled enclosure in the vicinity of the city point to an elaborate support system that fed the Harappan metropolis with finished products and economic surplus. Dholavira was in fact an important seat of administrative and political control and it is quite possible that it was not a part of regimented set-up of what is often referred to as the "Harappan empire". The location of the city close to the Rann of Kutch has led scholars to suggest that it might have been a port since the Rann are thought to be extended quarters of the Arabian Sea. Geomorphological evidence supports this hypothesis as the Rann held 4 m. of water in 2000 B. C. This water is enough for plying medium

sized vessels of the type of the ship called Baglo in Kutch which looks very much like an Arab dhow. Starting from Kutch, the shipping lanes might have passed along the Makran coast and then hugging the Persian Shore, it reached the gulf countries. The expedition carried out by Thor Heyerdahl called "Tigris" followed the above route to establish the line of contact between the Harappans and Sumerians. The island of Failaka near Bahrain has yielded things of Indus origin. The site of Ras-al-Junaj on the coast of Oman turned up inscribed pieces of Harappan pottery. Apart this there was a regular overland trade between various Harappan settlements and the places as far north as Badakhshan in Afghanistan, from where the Harappans brought lapis lazuli as a raw material for manufacturing beads meant for export to the West Asian countries.

There is great deal of speculation regarding the reasons that brought about the decline of the Harappan Civilization. Generally it is believed that with the passing of the Mature Phase, what was essentially Harappan and urban eclipsed and the Late Harappan successors lived on subsistence economy. But recent excavations have proved that this downtrend was not as abrupt as is made out. The Harappans continued to flourish even though they had lost all the accoutrements which qualified them to be urbanized Harappans of the Mature Phase. At Kuntasi in the Maliya taluka of Rajkot district, a Harappan trade emporium has been unearthed with a quay, warehouses and small workshops that manufactured a variety of beads. Geomorphologically it has been established by eminent scientists like Dr. Rajguru of the Deccan College that sea waters reached Kuntasi by 2200 B. C. and that it was in fact a port, though today the gulf of Kutch at a distance of 7 kms. from the present mound. Probably the settlement was in the nature of an important trading cum-industrial complex that had commercial relations with the gulf countries. However, the cause of the decline of the international trade have not been sufficiently identified, but one of the reasons may be the gradual silting up of the estuary near Kuntasi, which led to the closure of the port. Some scholars have put forward the hypothesis of climatic change over much of Western India including Rajasthan by 1800 B. C. when the onset of a dry spell marks the decline of the Harappan civilization with the reduction in the amount of precipitation and consequent increase in the degree of aridity of the entire area. However, it seems the basic issue missed. It is becoming increasingly clear that the problems like overgrazing and clearance of forest cover for agricultural purposes went beyond the carrying capacity of the environment and led to the gradual onset of semi-arid conditions. Even as early as 6000 B. C. the human depredations on environment led to the reduction in the available amount of resources at the Neolithic settlement of Ain-Ghazal (Jordan) and the consequent change in the eco-system led to a drastic transformation in the economic base from settled way of life to pastoralism. During the late Harappan phase in Saurashtra the increase in population is dramatic and by 1500

B. C., we get the evidence of the cultivation of Bajra from Rangpur which is suggestive of intensive use of land to accrue maximum output to feed a burgeoning populace. The extent to which the environment suffered due to biotic interference by man can be gauged by the fact that rhinoceros once common in Western India and Saurashtra disappeared altogether and there is a sharp reduction in fauna in the archaeological data recovered from different excavations.

As the story of Harappan civilization was coming to a close, a number of cognate cultures superimposed it and are given the general label of being late or Post-Harappan. In Punjab Cemetery-H culture dominated, whereas in Sind Jhukar was the succeeding culture. In Saurashtra Lustrous Red Ware culture became an off-shoot. After this the history of Indian civilization is rendered hazy as different cultures make a sort of patch-work quilt where a general continuity is difficult to trace. Only by 1100 B. C. with the emergence of the Gangetic Civilization does India's greatness find its fullest expression. This is also the time when the Aryans are believed to have infused a new vigour in the formation of India's essential personality. Recently attempts have been made to trace the movements of the Aryans in India, their settlements and origins. It is suggested that the Aryans did not bring about the decline of the Harappans because they (the Harappans) were none other than Aryans themselves. As an alternative to this hypothesis painted gray Ware culture is equated with the coming of the Aryans. However, situation is far from clear as a great amount of archaeological and literary work needs to be done before reaching any unequivocal conclusion in this regard. What is clear is that India passed through various formative stages in course of its hoary past and its great traditions are very much rooted in its soil. The spectre of West Asian origins of its civilization now needs to be laid to rest.

Babarkot—A Harappan Sojourn

Dinker Mehta*

Babarkot is a small village situated in Botad Taluka of Bhavnagar District, lying on the bank of river Gomta, half km. away from the present village, the site was discovered by Dr. S. R. Rao in 1955-56.

Babarkot is small site. The mound measures some 190 × 140 meters with 2.5. mts. height, surrounded by a fortification wall. Foundation stones of the wall are visible. As the mound was under cultivation, the wall is disturbed at places.

The excavations aimed to find out the complex societies as general and to understand the relevance to the Harappan civilization flourished in Saurashtra. For this, a joint project was undertaken by the Department of Archaeology, Gujarat state and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia, U. S. A. in 1990-91.

Fortification wall and the black earth wall foundations running parallel were the prominent features of the site. The mound was gridded and trenches admeasuring 5 × 5 meters were opened.

The basic stratigraphy noted are the top stratum (1) was the plough zone, stratum (2) was a deep rich brown soil with mixed remains of early historical to medieval pottery. These rested on the yellow brown soil of the Harappan Occupation, designated stratum (3). Examination of the sections shows that the inhabitants who followed the Harappans levelled carefully the older remains when they built their settlements.

The ceramics recovered from stratum (3) are Harappan like other sites of Saurashtra. The variety of pottery found from excavation can be listed below :

1. Fine red ware, red slip, bowl with graffiti.
2. Fine red ware, red slip, stud handle
3. Fine red ware, red slip painted bowl
4. Fine red ware, red slip base to dish-on-hand
5. Coarse black and red ware jar
6. Fine red ware, red slip jar.
7. Fine red ware, red slip, storage jar
8. Coarse red ware, red slip lamp
9. Fine red ware, red slip lamp
10. Coarse black and red ware, burnished jar

* Director, Dept. of Archaeology (Guj. State), Ahmedabad

In addition to the pottery some artifacts were also recovered which included stone tools, grinding stones as well as chipped stones. The blades recovered are from the mid-levels.

The antiquities recovered from excavations are as follows :

1. Agate bead
2. Fine red ware pendant
3. Fine red ware, red slip, perforated sherd
4. Fine red ware, red slip, bead
5. Etched carnelian bead (Broken)

To find out the date, the samples were sent to the laboratory and seven radiocarbon dates were fixed falling within the second half of the third millennium B. C. Considering correlation with the Rojdi, sequence, Babarkot falls within the Rojdi A and B bracket.

Babarkot is a site similar to other Harappan sites of Saurashtra but it diverges in two ways : (1) Fortification wall (2) Two parallel earth walls. Most of the Harappan sites are low, flat mounds with usual house plans, but few sites are diverged from this.

The people, we associate with Harappan were not necessarily alone in the region and may have culturally diverse people too. In this state there was a certain level of conflict between these people and this could have been a consideration for travel including the movement of pastoralists.

The site of Babarkot is situated on the traditional route that linked the other Harappan sites of Saurashtra.

For the site a hypothesis might take the following view Babarkot was purposely built on this route which was playing a key role in the regional movement of people for trade and subsistence. At some point in the life of the site the surrounding of Babarkot became dangerous to this movement and the settlement was fortified to become a kind of Dharmashala.

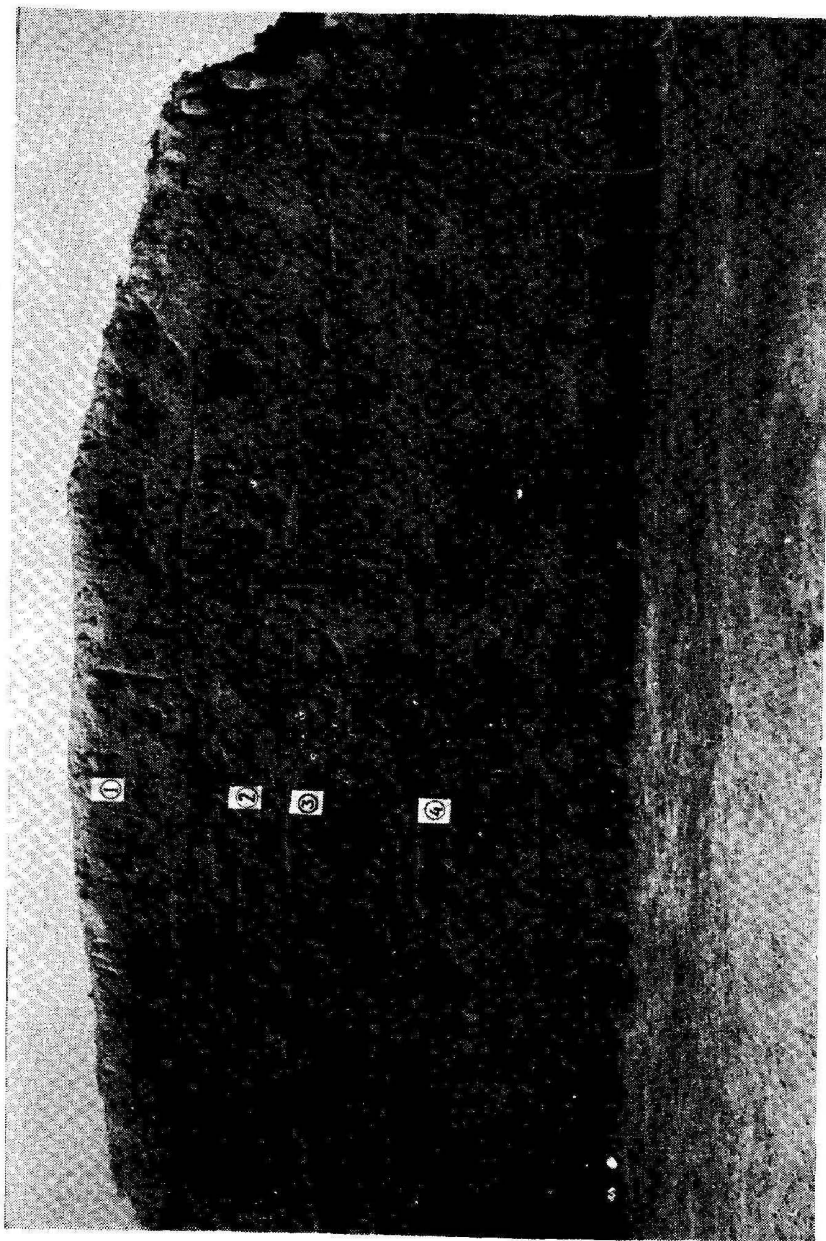
The black earth parallel wall could be the main walls for the small rooms constructed in between. This kind of tradition is still prevailing in the villages of the general sojourn.

Plate II



Stone Structure-Babarkot (See Page-11)

Plate 1



Stratigraphy-Visod (See Page-14)

Visod...An Archaeological Site

Ravi Hajarnis *

Village Visood is in the Hasotha taluka of the Bharuch District. It is on the left bank of the river Narmada. It's nearest village is Katpor about 6 kms. to the east of Visod. Katpor is connected by bus-route from Hasotha to Kantiajal.

River Narmada is famous in Purāṇas and history. It connects Malwa and Gujarat by river route. As such it has played an important role in the history and culture of Gujarat. The famous ancient port Bharukaccha that is modern Bharuch is on its right bank about 25 km. from the gulf of Cambay. It is well known that the Harappan sites of Saurashtra and site of Kanewal of the same period near Cambay are all geographically situated either on the bank of rivers or near sea. Particularly Kanewal is not far by sea from the mouth of river Narmada. Therefore, it is a strong belief that some Harappan sites might be existing around the mouth of Narmada and along its course. Keeping this in mind under the leadership of the author, southern circle Surat, of the State Department of Archaeology had undertaken an extensive programme for exploring South Gujarat and particularly river Narmada and Kim.

The later Harappan sites of Bhagatrao, Mahegam, Hashanpur etc. were already excavated. Therefore, archaeological potentialities of this region were thought to be rich. The site of Visod was discovered during exploration programme.

The site had revealed following pottery types :

1. Burnished Red Ware
2. Burnished Black Ware
3. Red slipped ware
4. Glaze wares of various colours like yellow, green, blue etc.

Antiquities like chank bangles and one punch marked coin (?) also recovered from the site. And so, it was thought that this site may contain earlier habitation also. Hence it was planned to test this site by a preliminary scrapping. And scrapping work was undertaken.

Visod is an archaeological, mound without human habitation at present, except a shrine of Goddess Khodiyarmātā, the caste Goddess of the local Kolies who are seafarers and fisherman traditionally. The site is 1.5 km. to the north-west of the village. It is about 200 meters towards the south of the left bank of the river Narmada.

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Description of mound :

The mound measured about 200 m. × 150 m. It is slopping west to east. The highest point is 6 to 8 meters from the adjoining ground level and the lowest eastern tip has four meter height.

A pond is situated to the south-west of the mound. A frequent tidal water made the marshy land to the east of the mound. The river Narmada which flows to the north of the mound and goes towards west and meets the gulf of Cambay near village Kantiyajal about 8 kms. to the west of the mound.

A preliminary surface collection revealed the same types of the potteries mentioned above. But in addition to this a few sherds of Chinese Ming pottery known as crackled ware with light bottle green colour were also collected. Such pottery is uncounter at the medieval site at Chapaner late 15/16th century A.D. The land covering most of the central and western part of the mound is owned by private owners.

The scraping was undertaken on the eastern fringe of the mound. Here tip of the mound measured 5 m. × 10 m. was extended towards east, so 4 meter wide cut was given.

Stratigraphy (Photo Plate-1)

Layer 1 : This layer is the top layer of the surface. It is top by a humus of about 4 to 5 cms. This layer is 34 to 10 cms. It is composed of loose brownish earth with pot-sherds which are smaller in size and bit rolled.

Layer 2 : This layer is also composed of brownish earth and pot-sherds. But it is more compact than layer 1. The pottery is the same as layer 1. Between layer 1 and 2 there is a patch of earth about 85 cms. long and 20 cms. broad. It is possible that this may be a patch of some mud wall or something like that.

There are three insect holes in the section, one is circular about 10 cms., second is triangular at the base of this layer. And last is oval shape in oblique formation.

There is something like a pit on which this layer is overlying This pit is cut into layer 3. It is 23 cms. deep and 33 cms. broad. It is composed of loose earth and pot sherds.

Layer 3 is 41 cms. by the thickest part and 19 cms. by thinnest part. It is composed of compact brownish earth with very small patches of ash and very small fragments of charcoal. This layer revealed bigger pieces of pottery. The ash patches, charcoal etc. indicate human activities at this layer level.

Layer 4 is a natural soil of yellow silt and Kankar in the Northern 2/3 of the section. And at southern 1/3 has blackish sticky earth. In the Northern half of the

section there is 18 cms. thick patch and 1 meter long patch of layer 3 and 4 in which one fragment of brick is embedded.

Layer 4 seems to be extended down below the tidal level. It was not necessary to cut the section under this level because layer 4 seems to be the natural soil layer.

Interpretation & Conclusion

The site of Visod seems to have been selected by its first settler due to its environment and proximity of river to its north. Moreover, alluvium land to its south seems to be another good reason for agriculture. Procurement of food by fishing and agriculture seems to be the strong reason of inhabitants' settlement here.

Evidences of potteries like Red polished ware (R.P.W.) and Chinese Ming ware also indicates their trade contacts with Roman world to its west and Chinese land to East. The site seems to have its own arts and craft like Bead, making industry, pottery making etc. A fragment of a broken Bend with uncomplete hollow indicates its local manufacturing while lump of residue of glaze indicates manufacturing of glaze pottery or glass at Visod. A typical Red slip ware with almost fine core and shining slip shows perfection of pottery making technique. Fragment of chank bangles indicates its contact with conch producing centres alongwith sea. A terracotta Dice with 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 holes on its six facet shows their interest in Dice game.

The chronology of the site can be fixed with the help of Red polished ware and Chinese Ming pottery called crackled ware. The Early Historic people first settled here. The site was well flourished during the medieval time, even in 15th and 16th centuries of christian era. The site was then abandoned.

I am indebted to Prof. (Dr.) Suryakant chowdhary for discussion on the site. The author is assisted by Sarvashree Trivedi (Technical Assistant), B.C. Patel (Draftsman-Photographer), M.P. Chokwala (Senior Clerk) and J.M. Gosai (Monument Chowkidar) during the work. The author wishes to thank them all.

Valabhi Vidyapith

H. G. Shastri*

Valabhi ranked as a great centre of all the three principal religions that prevailed in India in those times (470-788 A. D.). The place was presumably a centre of higher education as well. The story of the seven fools, given in 'Kathāsaritsāgara' based on old Bṛhatkathā, bears testimony to this assumption in the case of Valabhi. It represents a Brāhmaṇa boy of sixteen named Viṣṇudatta, as leaving Antardedi for Valabhi for the attainment of learning. The reference obviously indicates the reputation of Valabhi as a centre of higher education. It also implies that Valabhi was so far-famed as a centre of learning, that a Brahmin student aspiring for higher education left Antardedi in the Ganga-Yamuna doab for Valabhi and undertook the pains perils of a pretty long journey of about a thousand miles.

A redaction (vācanā) of the Jain Āgamas was prepared at Valabhi in *circa* 300 A. D.

Valabhi was also a renowned centre of Buddhist studies. I-tsing records that the greatest centres of learning in India were Nalanda and Valabhi and puts them in par with the great centres of learning in China. It indicates the high position of Valabhi as a centre of Buddhist learning. I-tsing gives the following account of these centres of learning. After having studied the five works of grammar, students begin to learn composition in prose and verse, and devote themselves to logic and metaphysics. Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others they pass two or three years generally in the Nalanda monastery in Central India or in the country of Valabhi in Western India. There, eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men become far-famed for their wisdom. To try the sharpness of their wit, they proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon: there they present their schemes and show their talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical Government. When they are present in the House of Debate, they raise their seal and seek to prove their wonderful cleverness. When they are refuting heretic doctrines, all their opponents become tongue-tied and acknowledge themselves undone. Then the sound of their fame makes the five mountains vibrate, and their renown flows, as it were over the four borders. They receive grants of lands and are advanced to a high rank; their famous names are, as a reward, written in white on their lofty gates. After this they can follow whatever occupation they like.

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On the analogy of Nalanda, it seems that admission to the Valabhi University was granted to those who completed their primary and secondary education there and to those of the outsiders that passed through the test held at the entrance. Two or three candidates only were declared successful out of every ten; while the others had to leave disappointed with downcast heads with their brains simmering and their hearts rankling with intellectual humiliation. At Nalanda Yuan Chwang studied the four Vedas, works on astronomy and geography on medical art, magic, and arithmetic. He also got conversant with the Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Nyāya doctrines. All these subjects were presumably included in the curriculum at Valabhi as well. I-tsing makes specific reference to the study of two works in particular. In learning the Nyāyadvātaraka śāstra, they rightly draw inferences; and by studying the Jālakamata their powers of comprehension increase.

As for advanced studies in grammar, I-tsing alludes to four works in particular. The first among these is *Cūrṇī* by Patañjali. I-tsing introduces the work as measuring 24,000 verses and notes that advanced students learnt it in three years. The work is said to be citing and elucidating the former śāstras and grinding the obscure points in the latter commentary. The *Cūrṇī* is here represented as a commentary on the *Vṛtti-sūtra*, but the work of Patañjali cannot be an exposition of *Kāśika-vṛtti* by Jayāditya and Vāmana, who flourished several centuries after the former. Patañjali is also known as *Cūṇīkṛt* or *Cūrṇīkāra*, and the *Cūrṇī* probably means his Mahābhāṣya. It is not a direct bhāṣya on Pāṇini's Sūtras; it rather seems to be an exposition of some old vṛtti on Pāṇini's sūtras. Next is mentioned the *Bhartṛhari-śāstra*, which is introduced as Bhartṛhari's commentary on the *Cūrṇī* mentioned above. The author was a contemporary of Dharmapāla and died in 651-52 A. D. He was renowned throughout the country and was a follower of Buddhism. He had courted priesthood, but returned to the laity. In this work he skilfully discussed about the Hetu (cause) and Udāharana (example). This commentary which measured 25,000 verses, seems to be extinct. It was followed by *Vākyapadiya*; another work of Bhartṛhari. It contains 700 verses and its commentary measured 7,000 verses. It is a treatise on the sacred teaching and on inculsive arguments. The last work on advanced grammar was also a treatise by the same author. It is entitled *Bela*. It contains 3,000 verses and Dharmapāla's commentary on it measures 14,000 verses. This book is said to fathom the deep secrets of heaven and earth and treat of the philosophy of man. A person who studied as far as this book, was said to have mastered grammatical science, and was compared to one who had learnt the Nim Classes of China. All the above-mentioned books were studied by both priests and laymen; if not, they could not gain the fame of the well-informed (bahuśruta).

I-tsing well observes that the highest truth (paramārtha-satya) is far beyond the reach of word or speech; what can be explained by words or phrases is concealed truth (samvṛti-satya). The Buddhist priests learnt besides all the Vinaya

works, and investigated the sūtras and śāstras as well. They opposed the heretics and explained away disputations. Thus they became famous throughout Jambūdvīpa and received great respect. The Buddhist University at Valabhi seems to provide for secondary education for the internal students as well as for instructions in subjects of heretic (non-Buddhist) doctrines. The Buddhist monasteries at Valabhi welcomed immigrant mendicants of all the eighteen nikāyas (schools) but the internal mendicants were adherents of the Sammatīya school and followed the Hinayāna. It, therefore, follows that this university was especially devoted to the studies of the Sammatīya school.

Unlike the Nalanda university which was much devoted to the Mahāyāna, the Valabhi university was especially interested in the Hinayāna. The Valabhi University vied with the Nalanda university in many respects. However, it has left few names of eminent achāryas corresponding to those of Nalanda. Guṇamati and Sthiramati composed treatises during their sojourn at the great monastery near Valabhi, but they hailed from Nalanda and probably flourished before the beginning of the Maitraka period.

As for the system of education, Western India must have followed the traditional methods that prevailed in the country in those times. The student approached the teacher personally and received his lesson individually. The tutorial system facilitated the personal contact between the teacher and the taught. Great emphasis was laid on the method of memorising through repeated recitations. It was often facilitated through the supply of works composed in verse even in the case of scientific literature. I-tsing notes of intelligent men who could commit to memory whatever they heard even only once.

No one was ever given a new lesson unless the old one was thoroughly mastered. There was no collective promotion of students to a new class. The intelligent students could proceed rapidly and complete their courses of study earlier while the others had to go on repeating their lessons until they could satisfy the teacher about their mastery over them. Even while receiving new lessons, students were expected to revise the old ones. Even when instructions were given to students in groups, the teacher took care to maintain personal contact with his disciples, who were encouraged to approach him individually and get his difficulties solved. During the period of studentship great emphasis was laid on simplicity and temperance. The student had to refrain from all sorts of luxurious modes of life. The disciple was trained in the discipline of the body and the mind, and was required to observe all the rules and regulations for seemly behaviour, moral character, physical labour and strenuous study. He held great reverence for his preceptor and the preceptor treated him with great affection. Thus the relations between the teacher and the taught were cordial.

“Ancient Indian Religions in Cambodia” with special reference to its Sanskrit Inscriptions

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Bharati Shelat +

Introduction :

Kambuja was the old name of the country which comprised Cambodia, cochin china and parts of Laos and Thailand (Siam) of modern times. The establishment of Indian Settlement in Kambuja is a fascinating story of marvellous achievements of early Indians.

Cambodia has made unique contributions to Sanskrit Literature especially in the field of poetry through inscriptions. The inscriptions of Kambuja present an age as they refer to spiritual consciousness and intellectual attainments and provide us with several important particulars elucidating literary, religious, social, political and cultural history.

The writers demonstrated full knowledge of various Indian sects. Its epigraphy testifies to simultaneous use of Sanskrit and old Khmer languages. The Cambodian people considered Sanskrit to be very sacred. Sanskrit was used for writing royal genealogies, panegyrics of the founders of monuments and donors.

Inscriptions of Kambuja are written in beautiful and flawless kāvyā style. They exhibit a thorough knowledge of different metres and most developed rules and convention of rhetoric and prosody. Vat Thipedi inscription of Iśānavarman II dated Śaka 832 (A. D. 910)¹ provides a very good specimen of Gaudī rīti. The author of the inscription is believed to be an inhabitant or a resident of Gauḍa Country for a long time. It is seen from the study of the inscriptions of Kambuja that progress of Sanskrit language and achievements in its rhetoric and prosody are unique. Though the existence of other colonial Vernaculars cannot be denied, serious literary works were composed in Sanskrit and beautiful style. The composers were conversant with various branches of literature. They had intimate knowledge of Indian epics. Kāvya, philosophy and also Indian spiritual outlook. Rulers Like Yaśovarman (A. D. 889-910) took keen interest in Sanskrit language. A commentary on Mahābhāṣya is said to have been written by him. His minister was an expert in Horāśāstra.²

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There is a reference to the Manusmṛti and famous authors like Vātsyāyana, Viśālākṣa Pravarasena, Mayūra, Guṇāḍhya and great medical writer Suśruta. These inscriptions show the high state of Sanskrit learning in Kambuja. They show familiarity with the works of Kālidāsa. Thus the Sanskrit language and literature was the first and foremost which opened a new world of culture.

As regards the palaeography, It will suffice here to state that Indian scripts were adopted in Cambodia, but they were developed on the soil and underwent modifications very much in the same way as in different parts of India. As regards orthography, it is necessary to state a few peculiarities which occur almost constantly in the inscriptions. In the first place, there is a curious tendency to substitute cerebral for dental and vice versa. Thus 'n' and 'd' are very frequently substituted for 'ṇ' and 'ḍ', and sometimes we find 'nd' or even 'ṇḍ' for; 'ṇḍ'; for exa. 'Rāmāyana' (no. 13, L. 4.). Another peculiarity which is fairly constant is the substitution of 'n' for 'm'; for example, 'Bhāratana' (no. 12, L. 4). We also frequently find that visarga before a sibilant is replaced by the sibilant itself; for example, 'Dhaṇas' Śiva' (no. 25, L. 1), 'Tatas sa' (no. 10, v. 6.), 'Punas' 'śaivena.' (no. 10, v. 8), 'Kalās' śaśṅko' (no. 12. v. 15) etc.

Again, while consonants are frequently doubled after 'r' and 'y', they are sometimes written simply with a single letter.

Again 't' before 'v' is very often not doubled, even when grammatical rules require it and the most prominent example is 'satva'. Letter 'v' is seldom distinguished from 'b'. Jihvāmūliya and Upadhmanīya are not used in later inscriptions. Sometimes 'Candrabindu' is used for anusvāra.³ The language is mostly correct Sanskrit, and it is only very rarely that any irregularities or mistakes have crept in and in these cases the fault is perhaps more due to the engraver than the composer.

From the study of the Kambuja Inscriptions, it appears that kings, nobles and priests had Sanskrit names. Princes were educated by their Gurus in the Siddhānta, Grammar, Dharmaśāstra and different systems of Indian philosophy. Cities and provinces most often bore Sanskrit name, e. g. Īśānapura and Yasodharapura. The majority of Sanskrit place names were associated with the names of deities, kings, high dignitaries and important personalities. The most common ending is plural; as for example Siddhipura, Śivapura, Svayambhūpura, Dvijendrapura, Maheśvarālaya, Hariharālaya, Yaśodharāśrama, Śivasthāna etc.⁴

Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja used Indian Śaka era. The language of dating is in exact accordance with ancient inscriptions of India. They contain abundant material for reconstructing the religious and social condition of Kambuja. They not only supply the names of the deities, but also long lists of the articles of daily or seasonal worship; the utensils and other necessities, including the personnel of the temples, the detailed account of the properties, both movable and immovable belonging to

the temples and the method of managing them. These details incidentally throw valuable light on the social and economic condition of the people.

Śaivism :

Most of the inscriptions are Śaivite in character, but some belong to the Vaiṣṇava and a few to the Buddhist sects. About the beginning of the 5th cent. A. D. Kaundinya, the second is believed to have indianized the kingdom of Funan to a great extent. He is believed to have introduced the following elements of Hindu culture :

1. Worship of Indian deities
2. State worship of Śivaliṅga
3. The law of Manu
4. Central Indian Alphabet
5. Honorific title of Varman to the names of kings and also to the persons of exalted religious and political positions.

The temples played an important role in the cultural history of Cambodia. They performed many social duties. They were the centres of learning. They functioned also as centres for fine arts. Singers, dancers, instrumentalists, actors and reciters, all received encouragement and training in temples. They were also associated with public utility work such as excavation of tanks, ditches and foundation of Dharmasālās.

Śaivism emerged as a dominant religious force in the 9th or the 10th cent. A.D. Vaiṣṇavism was also a powerful force in the 12th cent. A.D. Yaśovarman I is known to have patronized the prevailing cults and sects, namely Śaivites-Brāhmaṇāśrama, the Vaiṣṇavites-vaiṣṇavāśrama, the Pāśupatas, the Tapasvins, the Pañcarātras, the Bhāgavatas, the Saugatas etc. This king adopted Śaivite posthumous name Paramaśiva-loka'. Even in the field of sculpture, such synthesis is reflected, such as in the image of Harihara (a composite deity of Śaṅkara and Viṣṇu also known as Śaṅkaranāra-yaṇa).

The Rulers of Kambuja happened to be the patrons of Indian Culture. For attaining improved royal status, they resorted to patronising Dharma and for this they sought guidance and encouragement from the priests, poets, philosophers and saints. In spite of their individual origins from different ancestries or coming to power from various sources, they generally believed in a mythological ancestry denoting their becoming ruler by virtue of an element of the divine propagation of their adopted dharma. Construction of shrines and bringing the subjects to an upper religious strata used to be their main objectives. The Khmer king almost assumed the role of the supreme guardian of all the religious foundations of his realm. Yaśovarman I was declared the Guru of the entire world (Svaloka Guru Samrāta). He founded a series of small hermitages, all bearing a name recalling his own Yaśodharāśrama in different parts of his kingdom. These āśramas were non-sectarian in character. The king was the supreme religious and cultural institution in Cambodia.

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There was close co-operation and harmonious relations between the believers of various sects. Their generosity of religious character and universal brotherhood can be gleaned from the facts that believers of one sect constructed temples and installed statues of Gods belonging to other sects also. One of the high ranking officers of Bhavavarman, named Pasengapati installed a phallic of Lord Śiva and also established the images of Durgā, Śambhu-Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu Trailokyasāra. He granted donations to the shrines of Lord Śiva and, Lord Viṣṇu. Śivācārya, the chief of the Śaivas was born in a family of Vaiṣṇavites. Instances of installation and worship of the statues of God Śiva and viṣṇu in one and the same temple are plenty in number. The chief of Tāmrapura is also said to have installed a statue of Siva and Viṣṇu.

Śiva, Viṣṇu and Buddha were worshipped side by side, sometimes by the members of the same family.

All the principal religious sects namely the Śaivas, the Vaiṣṇavas and the Buddhists had their own Āśramas. King Yaśovarman(A.D. 339-910) is known for having founded 100 of such Āśramas. These Āśramas were centres from which Indian culture radiated throughout the country.⁵

From an inscription of the reign of Jayavarman V,⁶ it is revealed that arrangements existed for the copying of important treatises like Kāśikāvṛtti and Śiva Saṁhitā. Recitation of sacred texts had been a part of daily life at least in the temples. King Sūryavarman I is described in one of his inscriptions as highly interested in listening to the recitations of the Holy Hindu books like the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.

It is evident from the inscriptions that the Second Kaundinya (A.D. 420) laid much emphasis on the cult of Siva and introduced state worship of the deity. The king and the members of his family created foundation in which regular worship of the deity in the form of a liṅga was performed. King Bhavavarman I (A.D. 580-598) was a worshipper of Lord Śiva. He, installed a liṅga under the name of Gaṁbhīreśvara. Mahendravarman(A.D. 598-610) commemorated his victory after the conquest of a wide area now forming part of Laos, by installing a liṅga under the name of Giriśā. Iśānavarman I (A.D. 610-635) built a number of temples at Iśānapura and Sambor Prei kuk.

Saivism became very important in Cambodia in the 9th and the 10th cent.A.D., especially during the reign of Yaśovarman I. The existence and use of Śaivite texts is well attested in a number of inscriptions of Cambodia. The Śaivite Śāstras and Āgamas were well-known. Votive inscriptions regarding the setting up of Śiva liṅgas and footprints of the god have been found in large numbers. The principal religious beliefs and practices were :

1. The belief that the ruler is the representative of some God.

2. Establishing phallus at some elevated place.
3. Worshipping ancestors and installing their statues.

Śaivism in Cambodia united the nation and the religious institutions.⁷ In the temple of Bayon, there are statues of rulers alongwith the statues of Gods.

King Indravarman installed the statues of Lord Śiva and three other gods in Śaka 801(A.D. 879). A saint named Āmrābhava who was a favourite of king Indravarman and Yaśovarman is also referred to have prepared a ceremonial golden image of Lord Śiva which used to be carried in procession. Inscriptions refer to the installation of the statue of Umā-Maheśvara by Yajñavarāha and the statues of Śiva and Durgā. In the Mebon Inscription of Rajendravarman dated Śaka 874 (A.D. 952),⁸ description is contained about the phallic and statues of Pārvati, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and another phallic named. Rajendreśvara representing the king.

The Pāśupata sect has been referred to in Phnom Prah inscription of Bhavavarman I (A.D. 580–598)⁹. A government official named Vidyāpuṣpa is said to be an Ācārya of the Pāśupatas. The Pāśupatas had their āśrama in Ten Pranam not far from the capital city of Angkor. The Sambor Prei Kuk inscription of Iśānavarman dated Śaka 549 (A.D. 627)¹⁰ and the Bayon Temple inscription refer to Pāśupata sect. Śiva is generally represented in the form of liṅga. The inscriptions mention various kinds of liṅgas such as Jaṭaliṅga, Mukhaliṅga, Svayambhuvaliṅga, Suvarṇa liṅga, Hemaliṅga, Ratnaliṅga etc. The rulers, priests and scholars like Jayavarman, II, Sūryavarman II, Śivasoma (the preceptor of Indravarman I), Āmrābhava (the sage) and Jayendra Paṇḍita (scholar of Siddhānta) were considered to be believers and exponents of Śaiva doctrines.

Vaiṣṇavism :

The cult of Viṣṇu known as Vaiṣṇavism flourished side by side with Brāhmanism and Śaivism in Cambodia. The Chief Queen of Jayavarman and one of his sons were fervent worshippers of Viṣṇu. The legend of Viṣṇu is mentioned in the early inscriptions of Chenla period (i. e. 5th to 8th cent A. D.). The Sister of Bhavavarman I was married to an Indian Brāhmaṇa. They made gift of the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas to a temple situated on the bank of river Mekong. Viṣṇu was worshipped with Śiva by the name of Hari-Hara, Hari-Saṃkara and Śaṅkar Nārāyaṇa. He was also worshipped independently in Chenla under the name of Puṣkarākṣa, Puṣpavata Svāmī and Trailokyēśvara.

This sect flourished much under Jayavarman II (A.D. 802–814) and his son Jayavarman III (A.D. 854–877). On the Mahendra parvata the early capital of

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Jayavarman II many monuments were dedicated to Viṣṇu. Two of the queens of this king are believed to be Vaiṣṇavites, while Queen Bhāsasvāminī was the daughter of a Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇa.

Vaiṣṇavism had its golden age in Cambodia during the reign of Sūryavarman II (A.D. 1112-1150) who embraced this sect and received the posthumous name Viṣṇuloka.

In an inscription of Angkor Thom, mention of the establishment of a Viṣṇugṛha has been made. This Viṣṇugṛha was constructed for the reception and accomodation of the Vaiṣṇavas. The foundation of Prasat khana was laid during the reign of Sūryavarman I, who was a Buddhist king but the temple was dedicated to Kṛṣṇa. In an inscription of Śaka 850, Viṣṇu worship is mentioned. Prasat Pram Loven inscription of Guṇavarman,¹¹ refers to the foundation of a new realm and a vaiṣṇavite sanctuary named Cakratīrthasvāmin in which the footprints of Viṣṇu were installed. The Baset stele inscription of Jayavarman I (middle of the 7th cent. A.D.) records the concecration of an image of Viṣṇu under the name of Acyuta by a Bhāgavata named Dharmapāla. The Prasat kok Po and Trapan Run inscriptions¹² show that Bhāgavatism flourished during the reign of Jayaviravarman. In Cambodian inscriptions we find that Viṣṇu has been called by the names like Vāsudeva; Mādhava, Hari, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Padmanābha, Trivikrama, Puṇḍarikākṣa etc.¹³

The Pañcarātra sect was patronised by Sūryavarman I (A.D. 1002-1049), the Buddhist king. The kuk slaket inscription refers to a person who was well versed in the Pañcarātra. During 9th-10th cent. A.D. this Pañcarātra sect become powerful.

Besides the important sects, there are numerous references to Āditya, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Śaligrāmasvāmī, Yama, the nine planets, skanda-Kārttikeya, Indra etc, in the Cambodian inscriptions. References of Goddesses like Sarasvatī, Durgā, Gaurī, Mahalakṣmī, Umā, Bhagavatī, Indrāṇī, Gaṇḍā and Caturbhujā have been found in the inscriptions.

Devarāja Cult :

In the Angkor period (A.D. 802-1432), the Devarāja cult seems to have been the original religion. It is generally believed to have been introduced in Cambodia by Jayavarman II, the founder of the Angkor dynasty of Cambodia. It is called 'Kāmraten Jagat tā Rāja' in Khmer language. Jayavarman II invited a Brāhmaṇa named Hiranyadāma from Bhāraṭavarṣa for teaching Tāntric Vidya to his royal priest Śivakaivalya.

In the sclok Kak Thom inscription of Udayādityavarman dated Śaka 974 (A.D. 1052) it is stated that Jayavarman II installed the royal God (Devarāja) in the town of Sri Mahendra Parvata. Devarāja denoted not merely a particular līṅga but a ritual mainly tantric in character.¹⁴ Devarāja cult played a very important role in the Cambodian state polity. The king was considered to be divine. He was apotheosised

after his death. His ego was preserved and it was not allowed to diminish after his death. Temples commensurate with their greatness were constructed at a place higher than the local level of the ground to give an idea of Kailāsa. A deity was enshrined in the temple which was named after the deceased king.¹⁵ In the Mebon inscription of Rājendravarman II dated Śaka 874 (A.D. 952)¹⁶ we get a vivid description of this Royal cult. In the Pre Rup stele inscription, of Rājendravarman dated Śaka 883 (A.D. 961)¹⁷ there is a reference to the construction of a temple by the name of Rājabhadrēśvara in which phallic idols were placed. Along with the cult of Devarāja a tradition of establishing temples for the ancestors of the kings also developed and it became customary on the part of the kings to construct temples and instal idols representing their forefathers. In the Loley inscription of Yaśovarman,¹⁸ mention has been made about the gods and goddesses of four temples. They are Indravarmēśvar, Indrādevī, Mahipatiśvara and Rājendra devī. The first two temples were established in the name of father and mother of the king and the other two in the names of the parents of his mother. In the Prah Einkosci inscription of Jayavarman V dated Śaka 890 & 892 (A.D. 968, 970)¹⁹ the donation given by Indralakshmi and the installation of an idol of her mother are mentioned.

The Prah Khan inscription of Jayavarman VII mentions about the installation of two gold idols of dancing Siva and one of his father.²⁰ In this inscription the idol of Bodhisattva Lokeśvara has been called to be the figure of his dead father which was named Jayavarmēśvara. The Prasat Kok inscription records the installation of the idol of Lord Viṣṇu by Viṣṇurāva which resembled his own features. The donors constructed temples during their life time and their successors used to instal idols in their names after their death. Devarāja cult was the original aspect of Kambuja religion. It had a great influence on the political and social life of Kambuja.

Buddhism :

It was during the time of Jayavarman VII (A.D. 1181-1201) that Mahāyāna Buddhism was at the apex of its glory. Devarāja cult gradually lost favour by the king while Mahāyāna Buddhism was patronised by many of the rulers. The Devarāja cult was replaced by the Buddharāja cult. Instead of names like Paramarudraloka and Paramaviṣṇuloka adopted by the kings favouring the Devarāja cult, new names like Mahāparamasaukata and Nirvāṇapada were introduced. In the Prah Khan inscription mention of the word Jayabuddha clearly shows that Jayavarman VII identifies himself with the Buddha. The Ta Prohm inscription refers to the mother of the king with the name of Prajñāpāramitā.

With the first elements of Indian civilization, Buddhism penetrated into Cambodia. But it was scarcely dominant for quite some time : not even during the reign of the first Buddhist king Sūryavarman I until the reign of Jayavarman VII when images of

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Lokeśvar appeared everywhere. Buddhism became the state religion at the end of the 12 th cent. during the reign of Jayavarman VII.

Many of the rulers of Cambodia were Buddhists, but they never opposed the Devaraja cult. The Saiva and Buddhist religions were almost united. In Prasat Prah Khset inscription of Udayārkavarman dated Śaka 989(A.D. 1067)²¹ reference has been made to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Buddha's combined images (Trimūrti).

In a sort of mixture with the Hindu faiths Buddhism already existed in Kambuja in the 7 th century A.D. Gifts of land and dancing girls were offered to Buddhist monasteries like the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite temples. Rājendravarman II (A.D. 944-968) is said to have studied Buddhist doctrine, but he could not be influenced much. Kavindrārimathana whom he appointed as his great minister was the first Buddhist minister of Kambuja period. He intrusted with the construction of a new capital and a new religious centre at Yaśodharapura. The Baṭ chum sanctuary erected by Kavindrārimathan is the first Buddhist Sanctuary of Angkor Period.

During the reign of Jayavarman V, the son of Rājendravarman II, Buddhism seems to have made great progress in Cambodia. From the inscription of Seri Santhor it is evident that Jayavarman V had also a Buddhist minister named Kirtti Paṇḍita.

The earliest mention about Buddhism is contained in an inscription of the late 6 th or 7 th cent. A.D. It records the donation of slaves to the Bodhisattvas—namely Śāsta, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara. The Prasat Ta Kam inscription²² also mentions the installation of the statue of Lokeśvara. In the middle of Jayavarman VII's reign towards the end of the 12 th cent. Lokeśvara figures prominently. Vat Prei Var stone inscription of Jayavarman I dated Śaka 587²³ mentions about Buddhism which supports the idea that this religion entered Cambodia before the 7 th cent. A.D. Two Bhikkhus named Ratnabāhu and Ratnasena are recorded to have been authorised by the king to utilise their religious properties. Kok Sambhor inscription of the reign of Rājendravarman gives a description of complimentary attitude towards the Saṃgha, Lord Buddha and Buddhism. Description of the installation of many statues of gods and goddesses of Buddhist belief are found in many inscriptions. Jayavarman's inscription of Thma Puok dated Śaka 911(A.D. 989) worship of Buddha, Prajñāpāramitā, and Lokeśvara have been mentioned. The Phnom Rantay inscription records the installation of the statue of Buddha's mother and worship of Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. In Phimanaka inscription of Jayavarman VII, worship of Buddha and Lokeśvara has been recorded. The two queens of this king were Buddhist. They were sisters and the elder one was well-versed in Buddhist literature. She had imparted educational training to Buddhist nuns of Nagendratung, Tilakottara and Narendraśrama monasteries. The Kok Svay Chak inscription of Śrīndravarman dated Śaka 1230 records the donation of the king to Śrī Indramauli and the construction of a vihāra in which the idol of Lord Buddha was enshrined. In the Prasat Prah Khset inscription

of Udayārkavarman dated Śaka 989(1067 A.D.) there is a reference about the installation of a phallic of Lord Śiva, statue of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Buddha by Saṃkarṣa. This was named *chaturmūrti*. The Prah Put Lo inscription dated Śaka 869 (A.D. 947)²⁴ records the installation of the idols of Buddha, Rudra and other gods. It can, therefore, be very clearly understood that Buddhism had more or less submitted to the other prevailing principal religions to accommodate itself in the life of the people.

Thus Indian faiths like Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism attained privileged position among the kings as well as their subjects. In Cambodia, religious and cultural intercourse with India was maintained. The great impact of Indian beliefs and faiths could not be possible, had the rulers not patronised them and had they not taken active part in expanding them. The king, therefore, was the supreme religious and cultural institution in Cambodia.

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Geeta's Message to Modern Civilization *

Rasesh Jamindar +

Preamble

Mahābhārat is a treasure-house of many things. It mirrors the life and soul of the Indian ethos and milieu. *Bhagvadgeetā* (BG), one of the many treasures of *Mahābhārat* is more sublime and profound teacher to every individual on the globe. It is a treasure-house of all sorts of *Yoga*, i.e. a special devise of performing actions or it means equanimity of mind towards success⁺ or failure, not only for India but for the mankind also as a whole. BG is a book which thinks globally and acts locally.

All time scripture

There is a general impression that the BG, one of the systems of the *Prashānatrayī*, is meant only for spiritual & religious aspirants and that it has nothing to do with secular and temporal activities of human beings. But it does not make any distinction between spiritual and temporal, nor between the sacred and secular. Contrary to the general impression, the BG enjoys the status of universal scripture, applicable to all persons in all places and at all times. Those who want to achieve success in worldly activities, there is a good deal of teachings in BG to give guidance.

Cultural crisis

The world at the end of this century looks complex and contradictory. The world at large engulfed by problems and problems. There are scarcity of food, unimaginable poverty, stark unemployment, absence of faith, need of understanding, want of comradeship, lack of intellect and so on and so forth. Every country has its own problems either major or minor, either religious or political, either social or economic.

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Crisis of thought & action

Today the world as a whole is passing through ultimate crisis of thought and action in all of its history. The earlier world, with its thoughts, opinions and institutions, is in a state of rapid deterioration. Not only this but none can imagine clearly the shape of things to come.

In these crises one can have the solace and explanation of all life's problems in the philosophy of *Shree Kṛṣṇa* and in the ethical teachings of *Geeta*. One important feature of *Geeta's* teachings is nothing but its synthetic approach.

What is the philosophy of life ?

Now-a-days there is a need to have 'philosophy of life' without which it seems the world at large will not come out of crises of thought and action. There is an insistent demand of an hour that requires no submission of the hard-earned moral values and ethical norms. In such times of crisis the BG brings a message of hope and assurance. In fact, its message is fully significant precisely because it offers the eternal philosophy of life. The ingredients of this philosophy are *Jñāna*, *Bhakti*, and *Karma*.

Here we discuss these ingredients through the following points : (1) Action with *Dharma*, (2) Doctrine of *Karmayoga*, (3) Building a perfect personality, (4) *Samatva* as the basis of life, (5) *Karma* for serving humanity, (6) Knowledge of *Ātman*, (7) Qualification of egolessness, (8) Welfare of mankind, (9) Citadel of truth and (10) stable civilization, (11) *Geeta* shows the way, (12) Mobility of thought and (13) *Geeta's* message.

Action with *Dharma*

Geeta is not just a book that teaches how to live, but it also directs us how to carry on worldly activities without making any detrimental to *Dharma*. Therefore, the *Geeta* does preach high principles of religion, morality and culture with an utmost view that these may be practised in everyday life for redeeming the problems mentioned earlier. Its teachings are based on a deep and firm foundation of human psychology. Therefore, *Geeta* prescribes us how to work and how to live bringing into accord both spiritual and temporal side of daily life.

Doctrine of *Karmayoga*

The importance of *Geeta* lies in the doctrine of *Karmayoga*. The end and means are so interwoven in *Yoga* that they cannot be dualistically separated. When ends and means are unitively conceived there is a continuous and progressive realization of the end in the application of means. Therefore, *Geeta* emphasises that a nation's or Society's progress or down-fall is connected with the activity or inactivity of the

people. According to the doctrine of *Karmayoga* as described in *Geeta*, no one is owner or owned, a capitalist or a labourer, a master or a slave, superior or inferior, rich or poor; all are equal and have to contribute to the good of the Society. This is the real kingdom where the Almighty dwells and under whose leadership the crisis is overcome.

Building a perfect personality

The BG analyses the source and basis of human action. Action by itself is neutral. Therefore, the BG shows the way to train mind to achieve perfection and excellence in action. It deals with the development of an individual as an integrated personality. It is the will or the motive behind the action which makes it good or bad or indifferent. The BG is the perfect guide to those who aspire to build a perfect personality, a potent of which includes the harmonious development of the head, the heart and the hand. That is why a person endowed with a clear head, a loving heart and an efficient hand, than nothing more remains to be added to ones personality. This perfect personality will help remove the cultural crisis.

***Samatva*—a base of life**

According to *Kṛṣṇa* *Samatva* is the basis of life. *Samatva* means equality. *Samatva* is a process of evolution and so also it is the explanation of creation. *Samatva* connotes the most concrete quality of equability. *Samatva* is both subjective and objective. It is almost a prefix connoting the equiness in all phases of life; i.e. *Samatva* of mind, of ends and means, of purpose, of action and of all things man undertakes. It is this message that has a direct bearing on the present day conflict, confusion, tension and so on. It is only through this *Samatva* that we can hope to establish and attain to enduring peace in the world. Therefore, there is a scriptural sanction for taking the *Geeta* not as a mere advice to *Arjuna* but an object lesson to all humanity through out eternity.

Karma for serving humanity

That is why a person must perform his duty honestly and sincerely and only through that one can attain ones destination i.e. KARMA. *Karma* means deed, duty, work, etc., which is not prohibited or warded off, which is not harmful or which is not done with harmful attitude, which is performed to worship Lord and to serve the humanity. Therefore, every man ought to do his duty compulsorily. No body is expected to give up his duties. Thus it teaches to follow the path of non-attachment :

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।
मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥

(*Geeta* 2/47). Do perform your action proficiently.

and do not bother about the fruit of your action. The man, devoted to his own duties, gets salvation. The man gets the *Siddhi* (Salvation) by worshipping Him by doing his own duty :

स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः ।

स्वकर्मनिरतः सिद्धिं यथा विन्दति तच्छृणु ॥ १८-४५

यतः प्रवृत्तिभूतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।

स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥ १८-४६

Knowledge of *Ātman*

It is our experience that life, at every stage, raises problems and it is the business of philosophy to find solutions to them. To this end philosophy seeks knowledge of truth which alone can give lasting solution to all the problems of life. The knowledge of *Ātman* which is our true nature is the basis of all manly endeavour and achievement. Therefore, knowledge is the only permanent cure for all the problems of life. We set to enquire into and receive the knowledge of truth when we are torn with doubts and conflicts.

Qualification of egolessness

The ego in man is the root cause of all errors and the origin of all false values. In other words, ego breeds errors and in turn sets false values. Therefore, doubts demand further inquiry. Deeper inquiry reveals the totally unreal character of this ego. Thus it is necessary to shift our sense of selfhood to a deeper reality.

Ego dies hard. Therefore, to crucify ones ego it is necessary to do duty. When one succeeds in shifting the centre from the ego to duty, it is the duty who fulfills itself and the individual works from the highest standpoint.

A person bound by his ego consciousness while being engaged in action is caught in the eddy of relativistic obligations which in turn brings many desires and frustration. Thus each person by his own action either promotes himself to a better form of life or deteriorates his own value system.

Therefore, the first qualification of a spiritual person is *Anahankār* (egolessness) which is an attribute belonging properly to the *Kshetrajña* (the knower of the field, *Geeta* 13, 7), while simple egoism belongs to the *Kshetra* (the actual relative, *Geeta* 13, 5). This qualification of egolessness brings freedom to man from the conditionings that cause bondage is the chief aim of life.

Welfare of mankind

The BG devotes many passages to describe this stage beyond duty (2-71, 3-17, 4-18, 6-18, 12-13, 14, 18-19,). The man of duty is at best a disciplined slave.

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Hence *Geeta* teaches man to rise above even his duty and work as a free being. The call of freedom is insistent that all bonds must be broken. Duty is certainly high as compared with passions and desires. To urge to break all bondages and fly into the free air of freedom compels one to criticise and evaluate the concept of duty.

If we undertake this, the words alone fall from his lips, all this thought make for the good of the world and all his actions seek the welfare of mankind as a whole. They are in the words of *Geeta* सर्वभूतहिते रतः (ever interested in the good of all beings) and their actions and thoughts have always one reference and that is the welfare of mankind (लोकसमग्रहितम्)

Citadel of Truth

In whatever position of life we may be, to whatever creed or religion we may belong, the *Geeta's* teachings are not limited in its scope and action. It has only one message—a message of strength of the *Ātman* that raises man to higher and higher levels of self-expression. It appeals to every one to apply its teachings to ones circumstances and march towards the citadel of Truth.

Whatever religious practices we may do, whatever stage of life we may live, if we once shift our centre of hates and struggle, sorrows and competitions towards the citadel of Truth, we go beyond all the dualities and struggles of life and attain universality of outlook and breadth of heart.

Stable civilization

Deeply imbedded in the modern consciousness is a desire for the creation of stable civilization and we find its meaning in the comprehensive philosophy of life as propagated by *Kṛṣṇa*. He synthesises all the aspects of spiritual life—aspects broadly known in India as the paths of work, devotion, meditation and knowledge—and whatever other paths there be by emphasizing the essential nature and common feature of all these.

If the future is to witness the emergence of a work stable civilization, the collective wisdom of mankind has to be utilise for its realization. The greatest contribution shall come not from sects and creed, parties and leaders but from spiritual benefactors of humanity like *Kṛṣṇa*, *Buddha*, *Mahāvira*, Christ, Mohemmad, etc.

Geetā shows the way

The BG shows the models of perfection to be a perfect man for stable civilization. According to *Geetā*, the first model is that of the wise man who sees nothing but

his nondifferentiation with the absolute, living in absolute freedom. The second model, *Geetā* proposes, which is given as an alternative to the first one is that of the man of the action who stands firm in his path of life as one fully committed to the maintenance of the world of which he belongs or in which he lives as an integral functionary for smooth running.

These two models discussed in *Geetā* are *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* respectively and they are otherwise called *Jñānayoga* (Unitive understanding of wisdom) and *Karmayoga* (being established in unitive action). According to *Kṛṣṇa* only the ignorant people will think of the path of wisdom (*Jñāna*) and path of action (*Karma*) as separate. Throughout the *Geetā* *Kṛṣṇa* is revaluing and restating the place of action in life. The discipline of unitive understanding and unitive action are once again discussed in Chapter 3 of *Geetā*. Thus BG is peculiarly and specifically a book for redeeming the crisis. It is the book of peace and fraternity, of wisdom and action. *Geetā* today, without no doubt, fills the bill to the full.

Nobility of thought

None stands so unique for nobility of thought and versatility of character as *Bhagwān Shree Kṛṣṇa* amongst the leaders of thought and action who have appeared from time to time on Indian horizon. Among the galaxy of thinkers and leaders which India has produced through the ages and to whose invaluable contributions the Indian culture owes its distinctive character and uniqueness, the personality of *Pārthasārathī* stands supreme, for his teachings and preachings are non-sectarian and non creedal.

In these days of conflict, struggle and confusion, we can have no better guide to show us the path to freedom and peace than the message of the rational, universal and comprehensive spirituality which *Kṛṣṇa* taught in his *Geetā* over 3000 years ago.

Various are the roles that He plays in the great drama of the epic of the *Mahābhārat* but none that so much arrests and holds our attention and mind as that of *Kṛṣṇa*.

***Geetā's* message**

In view of the foregoing discussion it seems that though the *Geetā* teaches a way of life it does not place before its followers any particular creed or closed pattern of behaviour. It is not a book of mandatory injunctions, nor does it prescribe any obligatory duty. It specifically says that each one should choose ones own way of life. Wisdom itself will be incomplete if it cannot be lived from moment to moment irrespective of creed, colour and *caste**

* I am grateful to the authors mentioned in reference Books for inspiring me in writing this article.

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The Concept of Dharma in the Vaiśeṣika Darsana *

Lakshmesh V. Joshi +

The Concept of Dharma is difficult to understand especially in the Vaiśeṣika darśana, because we do not find a series of regular traditional commentaries on the Vaiśeṣika-sūtras, as we do in the case of the Nyāya darśana.

The Praśastapāda-bhāṣya, an oldest commentary on the VS in the form of a digest drove away the VS and the commentaries on it into oblivion.¹ Then began a number of commentaries to be written on the Praśastapādabhāṣya itself. It will, indeed, be a miracle if any of the lost works prior to Praśastapāda is ever discovered. Many commentaries in the VD seem to have been lost. Only references to the lost works are traced. Some of them are mentioned here : (1) Rāvaṇabhāṣya on VS; (2) Bhāradvāja-vṛtti on VS; (3) Ātreya-bhāṣya on VS; (4) The Vṛtti, quoted by Śaṅkara Miśra in his Upaskāra; (5) Śalikanātha's commentary on the Padārthadharma-saṅgraha etc.²

And it was possibly because of this that the order of the sūtras became confused and there were interpolations and omissions in certain cases. Hence it became difficult to obtain correct interpretation of several of them.³

Even in the 15th century, Śaṅkara Miśra finds it difficult to write a commentary on VS in the absence of any other commentary. He compares his act of composing a commentary with the play of an acrobat having no support in the sky.⁴

Now let us consider about the various meanings of the word Dharma, as prevalent in the Indian tradition. (i) Dharma is an adjunct residing in some subjunct, as smoke is a Dharma of the mountain (ii) Dharma means an attribute, as a smell in the earth. (iii) Sacrifice and the like constitute Dharma. It is a desirable matter, which is enjoined by the Veda; and which has a purpose⁵ (iv) Apūrva or unforeseen consequence of an act; is called Dharma. (v) The ten virtues, Fortitude, Forgiveness etc. constitute the characteristic of Dharma.⁶ (vi) Dharma signifies the specific and general duties of the different castes and of the different stages in the life of a man. (viii) The first ordinances regarding the sacrifice are called Dharma.⁷ Thus we see

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that 'Dharma' is multivocal term in Sanskrit. Now, we have to ascertain what is signified by the term Dharma in the Vaiśeṣika darśana.

At the commencement of the vaiśeṣikasūtra, the term Dharma is employed. The first sūtra runs—Now, we will, therefore, explain Dharma.⁸ The second sūtra runs—Dharma is that from which results the accomplishment of Exaltation and of the supreme good. The fourth sūtra combines the Dharma mentioned above with the knowledge obtained through similarity and dissimilarity among dravya, guṇa etc., and it says that such a knowledge in turn leads to freedom.

Looking at the first and the fourth sūtras, we can easily infer that here the word dharma is employed to convey the meaning of vedic rituals or *Adṛṣṭa* (the unseen potentiality of an act.) And it is also the fact that the most of the remaining vaiśeṣikasūtras describe the attributes (dharmas) of dravya etc.

This at first seems irrelevant to the main purpose of Vaiśeṣika, viz. the description of the nature of padārtha. Kaṇādamuni proposes to describe the Vedic rituals or virtues; and actually he describes the attributes (dharmas) of dravya etc. in the entire work !

Hence there is an allegation on the VS that the description of the six categories by Kaṇāda in his VS after having proposed to describe the nature of Dharma is as irrelevant as to proceed towards the mountain Himalaya while intending to go to the sea.⁹

Now, in order to answer this allegation, Prof. Anantalal Thakur states that dharma according to all the commentators means merit. But the subject-matter of the treatise shows that merit occupies an insignificant position in it and the entire work is devoted to the explanation of the 'characteristics' of the six categories. Under the circumstances it seems more probable that the word 'dharma' in the first sūtra means 'characteristic.' In support of his view, he presents the title 'padārthadharmasāṅgraha' given to the Praśastapādabhāṣya by Praśastapāda himself.¹⁰

But this view cannot be accepted, because how could we go against all the traditional Sanskrit commentaries ?

Praśastapāda himself seems to paraphrase the fourth VS in which he clarifies that the true knowledge of Ātman etc. is produced by the help of Dharma, established in the Veda by God.¹¹

Chandrānanda-Vṛtti, Anonymous Commentary (Darbhanga Publication), the Upaskāra commentary by Śaṅkara Miśra and the Kaṇādasūtravivṛti by Pt. Jayanārāyaṇa Tarkapañcānana—all these commentaries unanimously interpret the word 'dharma' in the first VS as merit or *adṛṣṭa*.¹²

Here it may be noted that the Baroda sūtra-text and Darbhanga sūtra-text do not have the fourth VS in which the word 'dharma' is used in the meaning of

merit and in that of attribute or characteristic.¹³ But if we admit Praśastapāda as an authority, he has, as mentioned above, paraphrased the fourth sūtra in his bhāṣya. Some say that there were at least two sūtra traditions in the Vaiśeṣika system.¹⁴ This suggests that the critical edition of the VS is highly required.

The above discussion clearly shows that the word 'dharma' in the Vaiśeṣika sūtras at outset signifies merit or adṛṣṭa (Unseen potentiality of an act enjoined in the Veda.)

Considering basically the concept of dharma, we do not find any opposition between the meaning of merit and that of attribute. Praśastapāda says that dharma is an attribute of a person. We know that whatever good act is performed by a person, is existing in the form of merit or adṛṣṭa until it fructifies. This adṛṣṭa merit or demerit is regarded in the Vaiśeṣika darśana as an attribute of Ātman, a kind of dravya.¹⁵

It is quite obvious that in order to attain freedom, a man should know the nature of Ātman i.e. a dravya. And merit or adṛṣṭa is an attribute of Ātman. Thus we find no contradiction between the proposed dharma and the described matter in the Vaiśeṣika darśana.

Moreover, almost the whole sixth adhyāya is found to have been devoted to describe Adṛṣṭa. Even at the end of the VS, adṛṣṭa (=dharma) is mentioned in the penultimate sūtra.¹⁶ Thus finding the Adṛṣṭa or dharma at the commencement, in the middle and at the end of the work, we cannot say that the dharma proposed to be explained at the outset, has not been expounded in the work.

Besides, the statement of S. N. Dasgupta corroborates our contention. It runs : "These considerations lead me to think that the Vaiśeṣika represented a school of Mīmāṃsā thought which supplemented a metaphysics to strengthen the grounds of the Vedas."¹⁷

This leaves no doubt in our conclusion that the word dharma in the Vaiśeṣika-sūtras in the beginning of the work, signifies merit or adṛṣṭa.

This merit or adṛṣṭa (dharma) is an unseen potentiality, produced by performing the duties as enjoined in the Veda. The performance of duties gives to a man the right of enjoying happiness. And if it is done without any desire for fruit, it purifies one's mind. In the purified mind, a desire to know the nature of Ātman arises. Then the man thoroughly studies the VD and reflects about the nature of Ātman. Then by withdrawing from all activities (Nivṛtti-dharma), the man goes deep into meditation and realises the true nature of the self.¹⁸

Thus we have seen that by performing duties in the best possible manner, a man gradually acquires the right to happiness and the right to Freedom. What is freedom ? "It is a freedom from the situation under which we are bound to act in certain determined sorts of ways, situation which does not leave us any choice."¹⁹

The dharma as expounded in the Praśastapādabhāṣya, would definitely bring about the welfare to the society. If a teacher or a soldier or a merchant performs his duty in the best possible manner, it is certainly beneficial to the society at large.

The common means of dharma as mentioned in the Praśastapādabhāṣya are non-violence, doing good to all beings, telling the truth, non-stealing absence of fraud, absence of negligence etc.²⁰ The more this kind of dharma is followed, the more prosperity it brings to the society. This can render the greatest good to the greatest number.

The universe is a well-governed whole. Here the physical forces are governed by spiritual forces and they in turn are contained by the Divine Force. When this spiritual force becomes extinct, the society is left at the mercy of sheer moralless physical force. In this context, we can say that, the dharma as suggested in the vaiśeṣika darśana can help as a lot.

Dharma is not a dogmatism. It is the duty of our educationists to provide for a study of scientific, universal and secular base for all religions at the academic level. It is with this secularism that the dharma of vaiśeṣika darśana is concerned.

The conclusions of this paper are as follows :-

- (1) Dharma signifies both merit and attribute.
- (2) The fourth VS at the outset is not interpolated.
- (3) Dharma purifies the mind, but what directly leads to freedom is the true knowledge of Ātman.
- (4) The vaiśeṣika darśana provides a man the stage of reflection (manana).
- (5) Dharma, if followed in the real sense would definitely bring about the prosperity to the individual as well as to the society.
- (6) Performance of dharma bestows upon a man the right to enjoy happiness and freedom.

Footnotes

1. Vaiśeṣikasūtra, Intro. p. 16, by Anantalal Thakur; Oriental Institute Baroda, 1961, edited by Muni Śrī Jambuvijayaṃ.
2. Vaiśeṣikadarśana of Kaṇāda, with an Anonymous Commentary, edited by Prof. Anantalal Thakur, Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1957, Intro. p. 17
3. VS, Oriental Inst. Baroda, Foreword by B. J. Sandesara, General Editor, p. vii
4. सूत्रमात्रावलम्बेन, निरालम्बेऽपि गच्छतः ।
रवे खेलवन्ममाप्यत्र, साहसं सिद्धिमेष्यति ॥
Upaskāra, Calcutta edn. 1886, p. 1
5. यागादिरेव धर्मः । तल्लक्षणं वेदप्रतिपाद्यः प्रयोजनवदर्थो धर्मः । इति ।
-The Arthasaṃgraha of Laṅkāṣi Bhāskara, edited by A. B. Gajendragadkar And R. D. Karmarkar; Motilal B., Delhi, Reprint, 1984, p. 2
6. धृतिः क्षमा दमोऽस्तेयं, शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।
धीर्वीर्या सत्यमक्रोधो, दशकं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥ -Manuṣmṛti, 6-92

7. यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवास्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् । -Rgveda, 10.90.16
8. अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः ॥ -VS. i.1
यतोऽभ्युदयनि श्रयससिद्धिः स धर्मः ॥ VS. I.i.ii
धर्मविशेषप्रस्ताद् द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायानां पदार्थानाम् साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्याम् तत्त्वज्ञानात् निःश्रयसम् ॥ VS. I. i. 4 Vaiśeṣikadarśanam, with the comm. Upaskāra by Śaṅkara Miśra, edited by Jivānanda Vidyāsagara Bhaṭṭācārya, Calcutta, 1886 A.D. pp. 1-5
9. धर्मं व्याख्यातुकामस्य षट्पदार्थोपवर्णनम् ।
समुद्रं गन्तुकामस्य हिमवद्गमनोपमम् ॥ -Intro. p. 20, Vaiśeṣikadarśana of Kaṇāda, edited by Prof. Anantalal Thakur, Darbhanga, 1957
10. पदार्थधर्मसंग्रहः प्रवक्ष्यते महोदयः -Intro. p. 19, Vaiśeṣikadarśana, Darbhanga
11. द्रव्यगुण...समवायानां षण्णां पदार्थानां साधर्म्यवैधर्म्यतत्त्वज्ञानं निःश्रयसहेतुः । तच्चेश्वरचोदनाभिव्यक्ताद् धर्मादेव । -PB; ईश्वरस्यचोदना उपदेशो वेद इति यावत् । तेन अभिव्यक्तात् प्रतिपादितात् धर्मादेवेत्यर्थः । -Kiraṇāvalī by Udayana, p. 99, Ed. & Tr. by Gaurinātha Śāstrī, Varanasi, 1980
12. (i) VS of Kaṇāda with the comm. of Chandrānanda, edited by Muni Jambuvijayaṇī, Oriental Inst., Baroda, 1961, pp. 1 f.
(ii) Vaiśe-darśana of Kaṇāda, Darbhanga, pp. 1 f.
(iii) VD with the comm. Upaskāra by Śaṅkara Miśra, edited by Jivānanda Vidyāsagara Bhaṭṭācārya, Calcutta, 1886 p. 8
(iv) VD with the commentaries of Śaṅkara Miśra And Jayanārāyaṇa Tarka Pañcānana edited by Jayanārāyaṇa Tarka Pañcānana, Calcutta, 1861, p. 7
13. धर्मविशेषप्रस्ताद् द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायानां पदार्थानाम् 'साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्याम्' तत्त्वज्ञानात् निःश्रयसम् । -VD, Jivānanda edn. pp. 4 f.
14. VD Darbhanga edn. Intro. p. 16, Anantalal Thakur
15. धर्मः पुरुषगुणः । कर्तुः प्रियहितमोक्षहेतुः अतीन्द्रियः । -PB, p. 659, with comm. Nyāya-Kandali of Śrīdharabhāṭṭa, Along with Hindi Trans. by Durgadhara Jha Sharma, Varanasi, 1963
16. दृष्टानां दृष्टप्रयोजनानां दृष्टाभावे प्रयोगोऽभ्युदयाय ॥ -VS (Or Kaṇādasūtra) 10.2.8, p. 336, VS of Kaṇāda, with the comm. of Śaṅkara Miśra., Trans. by Nandalal Sinha, S. N. Publications, Delhi, S. N. Edn. 1986.
17. A History of Indian philosophy, by Surendranath Dasgupta Vol. I. p. 285, Motilal B., Delhi, 1988 (Reprint).
18. Praśastapādabhāṣya, pp. 679-82, Durgadhara Jha Edn. with Kandali and Hindi Trans. Also Compare : The Candrānanda-vṛtti on the first VS, Gaekwad Oriental Series, Ibid, p. 1.
19. Logic, Language & Reality, by Bimal Krishna Motilal, Motilal B., Delhi, First Edn. 1985, p. 363
20. तत्र सामान्यानि धर्मे श्रद्धा, अहिंसा भूतहितत्वम् सत्यवचनम्, अस्तेयम्...अनुषथा...अप्रमादश्च । -PB, Durgadhara Jha Edn., p. 665

G. bāp, bāi, āp, āi and Related IA. Kinship Words

H. C. Bhayani*

This is an attempt to account for a particular IA. kinship word-group exclusively on phonological grounds. This is not to rule out influences also, either from the nursery vocabulary or from Dravidian, but they are deliberately not considered in the present discussion.

The typologies and data given in R. L. Turner's *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages* (1966) (=CDIAL; other abbreviations used here are according to it) are taken as the basis of this discussion. The numbers refer to the CDIAL entires.

The etymologies and interrelationships discussed here pertain to the following words (and their IA. cognates). The meanings and derivatives are given only when necessary.

G. *bāp* 'father' (9209; 9147)

G. *bāv* 'wandering religious mendicant', 'father' (dial)

G. *bāi* 'woman', 'servant-girl', 'honorific female name-ending', 'mother' (dial) (9198)

G. *bā* 'mother', 'address to elderly woman', 'honorific female name-ending' (9198).

G. *āp* 'father' (dial.) (500)

āi 'grand-mother' (deal), 'mother' used before the name of a goddess' (Old G., M.) (997)

bapāv 'grand-father' (dial.)

The source-forms of these words and their cognats reconstructed by Turner to explain their origins, are considered by him mostly to be nursery words.

I think regular phonological change can account for the development of the forms of this word-group and it reveals their interconnections. The changes can be figured out as follows :

1. OIA. **bāppa-* .

(1) **bāppa-* (m.) > **bāppa-* (Early Northern MIR.) L.P. *bāp*.

(2) **bāppa* > **bāppa-* (Early Eastern MIA.) > **bāva-* (Middle MIA)
G. *bāv*, B. H. etc. *bābā*.

(3) **bāva-* (as per (2)) > M. *bā* 'honorific male name-ending'.

(4) **bāppa-* > *bappa-* (MIA) > G. etc. *bāp*.

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- (5) **bāppa*- > **bāpa* (Early MIA) > **bāva*- (Middle MIA) + -*t* (y) *ā*- (f. suffix) > **bāvia* > *bāiā* > G. M. etc. *bāi*.

2. OIA. **āppa*-

- (1) **āppa*- (m.) (Early East MIA) **āva*-

G. -*āv* in *bapāv* 'grand-father.

- (2) **āppa*- > *appa*-, *appaya*- (MIA) > G. *āp*, M. *appā* etc.

3. *avvo* : In his detailed discussion¹ of the etymology of pk. *avvo*, 'an exclamation of distress, fear, depression, joy, astonishment etc; Paul Dundas has put forth, after considering relevant data and views, an attractive plea for connecting the word with pk. vocative *ammo* in view of their closely similar forms, senses and functions. Like *ammo*, primarily based on *amma*- 'mother, etc.', and secondarily used as an exclamation, *avvo* also is to be analysed with *avva*- 'mother etc.' as its base. This is quite convincing. But the derivation *ammo* > *avvo* remains unacceptable because the change -*mm*- > -*vv*- is not supportable. We can consider another alternative. Accepting the analysis of *avvo* as *avva*- + -*O* (paralleling *amma*- + *O*), and the meaning 'mother etc.' for *avva*-, the latter can be explained as a modification of **avvā*, which is the same as **āvā*, the feminine counterpart of **āva*- (2.31) above), with expressive or emphatic gemination of -*v*-.

4. **āva*- (as per 2.11) + -*ia*- (f. suffix) > **āviā*- > *āiā*- > G. M. *āi*.

Notes : **bāpa*- : Early MIA. simplified the consonant cluster after a long vowel and preserved the vowel length (as we know from developments in Ardhamāgadhī, Bengalī, etc.). We can assume the developments **bāpa*- > **bava*- accordingly. The latter form possibly spread to other areas (West etc.)

bappa : *bappa*-, recorded in Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā* (6, 88) in the senses 'soldier, father' is well-attested from earlier Pk. and Ap. literatures. It occurs as a term of respect (as Sk. *bappapāda*-) and as a proper name in the Maitraka inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.²

Turner has given to **bappuḍa*- a separate entry. But it obviously derives from *bapp*- extended with the diminutive endearing suffix -*u*- (cf. *kakkuka* - occurring as personal names in Medieval inscriptions and G. *kāk* 'uncle', *kāku* 'personal name, which was further extended with the diminutive suffix -*ḍa*-. Compare also similar Ap. derivatives *nagguḍa*- and *vamkuḍa*-. In a Maitraka copper-plate grant dated 605 A.D. occurs *bappaṭaka*- as a male personal name. It is an extension of *bappa*- with -*ṭa*- suffix.

Pk. *bappa*- was sanskritized as *vaptṛ*- which is recorded by Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (3, 220) among the words meaning 'father'. So it is earlier than the twelfth century A. D.

The words *bāpa* and *āi* occur as Gujaratisms in the following facetious verse in mixed language (viz. Sanskrit and Gujarati) from Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (1305 A.D.) (p. 27, v. 56) :

बापो विद्वान् बापपुत्रोऽपि विद्वान् आई विदुषी आई धुआऽपि विदुषी ।
काणी बेटी साऽपि विदुषी बराक्री, राजन् मन्त्रे विष्णुजं कुटुम्बम् ॥

**bāva* : *bāva*- occurs as a male personal name in three Maitraka copper-plate grants, dated 629, 634, 669 A.D., and as *bāvulla* (i.e. extended with the diminutive -ulla- suffix) in a grant dated 706. A.D.

**bāi* : In the following Apabhraṃśa verse from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāramañjarī-kathā* (first half of the eleventh century A.D.) (p. 56), the word *vāi* (i.e. *bāi*) occurs as a vocative form meaning 'O Mistress' (said by the maids of a courtesan).

वाई ए कुक्कुडु बासइ, एक्कु लियंतह दुइजउ नासइ ।

(For the translation see p. 98 of the edition).

**āva* : *āva*- extended with the suffix -uka- (i.e. *avuka*-) occurs as a male personal name in two Maitraka grants dated 629 and 634 A.D.

**āi* : It occurs in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* as noted previously. In Mod. G. *āi* and *mātā* are used alternatively before the names of goddesses worshipped.

As observed in the beginning, the etymologies and developments suggested in the paper do not rule out, of course, influences from Dravidian, e.g. the words and forms like *appan* (DED. 133), *avvai* (DED. 232), *ayi* (DED. 308), etc.

Footnotes

1. 'Prakrit avvo', *Indologica Taurinensia*, 8-9, (1980-81), 1981, 163-167
2. From at least about sixth century onwards down to the present day there has been an unbroken custom of using kinship terms as personal proper names. Several of these occur in Maitraka inscriptions (mostly in MIA phonological shape), e.g. *avuka*-, *kakka*- *kikka*-, *cacca*-, *jijja*-, *dadda*-, *diidda*-, *nanna*-, *bappa*-, *bāva*-, *bhaṭṭi*-, *mamma*-, *lalla*. To mention some personal male and female names from Modern Gujarati; *ātā*, *kāku*, *kiku*, *tātā*, *dānā*, *dādu*, *nānu*, *bābā*, *bāpā*, *bāpu*, *bhāi*, *māmu*, *lālū*, *āt-ba*, *bahenā-bā*, *bāvābhāi*, etc.

References

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H. C. Bhayani, 'Maitrakakālin Viśeṣ-nāmo', *Vāṇmay*, 2, 1, 1989, 149-155.
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Paul Dundas, 'Prakrit avvo', *Indologica Taurinensia*, 8-9 (1980-81), 1981, 163-167
Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi-kośa* (ed. Vijayakastūr-sūri), 1957
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G. bāp, bāi, āpo, āi and Related IA. Kinship Words]

[41]

Ānandabodha's Criticism of Nyāya View of Mokṣa

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I

Ānandabodha, an eleventh century Sanskrit philosopher is renowned in the history of Indian philosophical literature for his commendable works, mainly for *Nyāyamakaranda*. He flourished at a period when advaitic tenets were severely criticised¹ by the proponents of other philosophical systems. The stalwarts who had played the leading role and made vigorous attempts in uprooting Advaitism of the great Śaṅkarācārya and his followers and forcefully establishing the logical validity of their philosophical principles were Naiyāyikas, the realistic thinkers of India. The main task was, therefore, for Ānandabodha to fight with the opponents and to establish absolute monism by supplying adequate defence on logical grounds. Ānandabodha, as I understood from the study from his works, had genuinely endeavoured to a great extent in doing his great task satisfactorily as per the demand of the hour. He delved deep into the ontological, epistemological and soteriological doctrines advocated by his protagonists and rejected them pointing out logical fallacies. This is perhaps Ānandabodha's valuable contribution to the Advaitism of Śaṅkara and his followers.

In the *Nyāyamakaranda*,² Ānandabodha has sharply criticised and skillfully repudiated the Nyāya view of *mokṣa* (liberation), the highest goal of human life. For a critical student of Indian philosophy especially interested in understanding the historical growth developed out of claims and counterclaims, the study of Ānandabodha's criticism of Nyāya view is of immense value. The aim of the present paper is, therefore, to present Ānandabodha's important arguments intended for refutation of the Nyāya view of *mokṣa* and to observe how far Ānandabodha has done justice to it.

II

Before I proceed to analyse Ānandabodha's critique, let me briefly state about the Nyāya view of *mokṣa* as expounded in the original Nyāya texts. For it is very essential for a better understanding of Ānandabodha's presentation and for making sound critical estimate of his refutation. But I will restrict myself only to Gautama, the propounder of the Nyāya system of logic, and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, the celebrated author of the *Nyāyamañjarī*. As it is impossible to present the views of all the Naiyāyikas in this paper with limited scope, I have included only above two Naiyāyikas. It will be sufficient for my purpose.

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Gautama in his *Nyāyasūtra* defines³ *mokṣa* as the absolute cessation of misery. His commentators like Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara and others have elaborated the concept of Gautama further. Though Jayanta Bhaṭṭa like his predecessors in his outstanding work *Nyāyamañjarī* has explicated Gautamian notion of *mokṣa* nevertheless, his definition is, as far as I understand, slightly different from his predecessors. However, it is mostly accepted and widely popular also. As will be clear from our following discussion, this is perhaps the reason why Ānandabodha for his criticism has referred to Jayanta's view in the *Nyāyamakaranda*.

Jayanta, making a synthesis of Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya view i.e. the complete destruction of the nine qualities of the soul as *mokṣa*, has been described by Nyāya as complete freedom from misery.⁴ Thus, according to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, the soul becomes devoid of all its qualities in the state of *mokṣa*⁵ and attains its own nature, i.e. unconscious state.⁶ Not only there is a complete cessation of misery in this state, there is also complete cessation of pleasure in *mokṣa*.

This is evidently clear in the *Nyāyakandalī* of Śrīdhara, a Vaiśeṣika thinker. He says⁷ that just as fire is extinguished when the fuel is exhausted and does not appear again, similarly, *mokṣa* is a state in which soul becomes devoid of merits and demerits and, therefore, does not get a body again. All the special qualities of soul get destroyed in *mokṣa* and, therefore, the soul attains its original nature.

Professor Hirianna in his *Indian Conception of Values* describes the Nyāya view :

The ideal of life here is a state of complete cessation of suffering and not of the attainment of pleasure also. Its negative character is shown by earliest description in the literature of the doctrine of *apavarga* or 'escape'. The self is restored to its normal state, which is one of absolute aloneness not only from the objective world but also from other selves, though both of which, as real and eternal, will necessarily endure then. It is thus a state of absolute, blank. Since it is not only pain and pleasure that are adventitious to the self but also knowledge, desire, and so forth, the state of release is one in which the self has completely cast off its specific qualities. Accordingly, it not only transcends empirical life then, but also ceases to be the subject of experience in all its forms. It may, therefore, be characterised as a form neutral being.⁸

This is significant to say here that the above-said account of *mokṣa* prior to Ānandabodha's notice was victim of ardent criticism. The scholars are expected to be well-acquainted with the famous comment of Śrīharṣa, the author of the great work, *Naiṣadhacarita*.⁹

"He who propounded a system of doctrines to prove that salvation of sentient beings is a condition similar to that of stones is exactly as you know him to be a perfect ox when you have examined him".

Ānandabodha's Criticism of Nyāya View of Mokṣa]

[43]

The poet plays on the word Gotama (lit. a perfect ox), a fit appellation for a sage who reduced salvation to a condition similar to that of a stone.

Further, it has been said that one should rather prefer to be born as a jackle in the *Vṛndāvana*, but he should not strive to attain the state of *mokṣa* advocated by the Naiyāyikas.

All this goes to say that the Nyāya conception of *mokṣa* has been seriously criticised by the outstanding scholars. They have pointed out that the Nyāya concept of *mokṣa* is like a stone being devoid of consciousness. Hence it cannot be the highest goal of human life (*paramapurusārtha*).

Let us see how Ānandabodha presents and refutes the Nyāya view of *mokṣa*.

III

Ānandabodha puts forth the Nyāya view of *mokṣa* as follows : Final liberation consists of the existence of the self in its natural characteristic form when all the special qualities like cognition etc. get ceased completely.¹⁰ From this, it is clear as we have said earlier that this presentation resembles Jayanta's definition of *mokṣa*. Thus, undoubtedly we can very well say that Ānandabodha incorporates Jayanta's view in his work. He does not misrepresent the view and very much faithful to the original Nyāya text i.e. the *Nyāyamahātīkā*.

Let us see his arguments for refutation.

- I. The definition of Naiyāyika cannot experience the smell of human goal. If it be said that cessation of sorrow alone is *mokṣa* or *paramapurusārtha*, then, it is not reasonable. According to this conception, *mokṣa* is the extinction of all pleasures, it cannot be the highest goal of human life. Further, as the fruit of *mokṣa* is an equal expenditure, no intelligent person will endeavour for the attainment of such type of *mokṣa*.¹¹ To substantiate his position Ānandabodha quotes from the *Nṭisāstra* : An intelligent person should not begin an endeavour invariably ending unhappily and having equal expenditure as its fruits and things difficult to be done.¹²
- II. According to Ānandabodha, in this world we live in nobody undertakes any activity aiming at only the removal of misery. Every person does his work for the experience of happiness in the worldly life. Even when a person tries for the removal of the pain with regard to the piercing thorn etc., he attempts for the enjoyment of pleasure since it is possible to experience agreeable pleasure even when there is pain.¹³
- III. Again, the Nyāya view, i.e. absence of misery as *mokṣa* cannot be also cognised. For, according to Naiyāyika, at the time of the annihilation of the special qualities like *buddhi* etc., cognition gets completely ceased. Since the state of *mokṣa* cannot be cognised it does not differ from the unconscious state.¹⁴ Ānandabodha further quotes from the *Nṭisāstra*.¹⁵

- IV. If it be said that the absence of pain though not cognised can be *mokṣa* like the absence of pain at the time of dreamless sleep. It is not logical since there is no valid means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*) to prove the absence of cognition at the time of dreamless sleep. As everything is known by cognition by which absence of cognition will be cognised? If it is through cognition itself, then, the absence of all cognitions cannot be said. The person in dreamless sleep also cannot cognise the absence of all cognitions by inference. Moreover, since one has the remembrance of pleasure which is evidently clear from his statement i.e. "I slept soundly", we, therefore, prove that the person of dreamless sleep has cognition of pleasure. Hence it is the experience of pleasure one has in the state of dreamless sleep and not mere absence of pain. Hence it is not reasonable.¹⁶
- V. If it be said that the statement—I slept soundly—has the implication—I slept free from pain—after inferring the absence of the experience of pain, as evidenced by the absence of the remembrance of pain, it is not sound. Because it is inconstant with respect to the establishment of remembrance and there is no refutation of the remembrance of the experience of pleasure. But at the time of dreamless sleep, the supreme bliss is manifested, but not the absence of pain. Thus the final release being devoid of the cognition of pleasure cannot intelligibly be the human goal. If it be so, there cannot be any activity of intelligent persons. Because it is like the unconscious state. It is like the annihilation of one's own self also.¹⁷
- VI. Further, the complete absence of the cognition of a thing even though existing by itself is not practically different from non-existence (*abhāva*). Persons applicated with very serious diseases endeavour to put an end to their lives. It cannot be said that their endeavour is to put an end to the body, for persons who are oblivious of the fact that there is a self other than the body endeavour with this consciousness that they are putting an end to their selves. Those person bearing their bodies full of pain endeavour so since their pleasures have been annihilated entirely an account of the increasing diseases. As the worldly people, will make actions to enjoy various kinds of pleasures both mundane and supermundane, they will not work for that kind of *mokṣa* which is in the form of the extermination of all pleasures.¹⁸
- VII. According to *Nītiśāstra*, it is not proper to endeavour merely to remove pains. It is better to accept that pleasure which is full of pains. No one who knows all the categories varily endeavours to achieve delusion. It is established, therefore, that the doctrine of liberation (*mokṣa*) which is in the form of the annihilation of all the special qualities like cognition etc., does not stand to reason.¹⁹

IV

From Ānandabodha's refutation of the Nyāya doctrine of *mokṣa* it is easily intelligible that the Naiyāyikas consider *mokṣa* as a state where self exists in its pure

essential nature being devoid of consciousness or *buddhi* and happiness which are, according to Nyāya philosophy, accidental qualities of the self. Ānandabodha during his refutation has given emphasis on two points, viz., the state of *mokṣa* is devoid of consciousness and hence equal to *mūrchā avasthā* or unconscious state; and it is devoid pleasure. As a staunch Advaitin he, keeping in view Śaṅkara's soteriological theory points out emphatically that *mokṣa* should be a state wherein one will experience the eternal imperishable happiness identified with the *Brahman*. One major point, though Ānandabodha has not made it very clear during his repudiation is that he does not identify *duḥkḥābhāva* with *snkhānubhava*. For him both are different. In another context wherein he discusses Advaitic ontology, he has made it very clear. Hence he says that since Nyāya *mokṣa* is bereft of eternal bliss, no one will attempt for its attainment.

But Nyāya system gives us another logic in defence of his theory of *mokṣa*. Since in this world pure pleasure cannot be experienced and all the times pleasure is mixed with misery, hence *duḥkḥābhāva* should be *paramapuruṣārtha*. The Nyāya system also includes body (*śarīra*) among twenty four miseries. Complete *duḥkḥābhāva* is possible only when the self will remain in its own nature being devoid of the present body and will never be associated with another body which is the source of misery. But so far the Nyāya concept is very reasonable. But when it advocates that consciousness also gets ceased in the state of *mokṣa*, the Nyāya system commits a great blunder which spoils the validity of the theory. Ānandabodha, therefore, has caught this point and refuted it. His refutation, to my knowledge, stands to reason.

In the light of what has been said above, it should be pointed out here that the Nyāya conception of release reduces itself to an absurdity. If *mokṣa* is the state of the self when it remains in its condition, freed from all special qualities like knowledge, etc; there is nothing to distinguish such a state from the *abhāva* or non-being of the self. The Naiyāyika proves the adventitious nature of knowledge by citing dreamless sleep where the self is supposed to endure by becoming a pure substance (*suddhu-dravya*) devoid of any consciousness of the world and its joys and miseries. This contention, however, is not satisfactory. The peace of extinguished consciousness may be the peace of death. The state of painless, passionless existence, which the Nyāya idealises, seems to be a more parody of what man dreams to be. The Nyāya conception of *mokṣa* is a word without meaning. No one would be desirous of the *abhāva* or non-being of the self which is the seat of supreme felicity and the source of unsurpassed bliss. If *mokṣa* is the *abhāva* of self, it ceases to be the goal of human endeavour. This is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the Nyāya view of the self.

It is perhaps the reason why the Nyāya philosophers like Bhāsarvajña and Udayanācārya do not accept the above-said Nyāya theory of *mokṣa*. On the basis of the above discussion, we can have following conclusions :

Ānandabodh'a presentation and refutation of the Nyāya theory of *mokṣa* bear a clear evidence of his profound knowledge and scholarship regarding the Nyāya philosophy. A comparative study of his presentation and the original Nyāya sources shows that his presentation of the Nyāya view is very clear and correct. As his refutation throws light on some important aspects of the Nyāya theory, it is of great value and helpful for our understanding.

Footnotes

1. Dasgupta, S. N., *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, 1932, V. II, p. 99
2. Balarama Udasina Mandalika, ed. *Nyāyamakaranda Pramāṇamālā* and *Nyāyadīpāvali* of Ānandabodha Bhaṭṭārakācārya with Citsukha's Commentary, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras, 1907 (NM; henceforth)
3. तदत्यन्तविमोक्षाऽपवर्गः । *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.22
4. तदेवं नवानामात्मगुणानां निर्मूलोच्छेदाऽपवर्ग इति यदुच्यते तदेवेदमुक्तं भवति तदत्यन्तवियोगोऽपवर्ग इति । Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, *Nyāyamañjari*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras, 1934, p. 77
5. स्वरूपैकप्रतिष्ठानः परित्यक्तोऽचिदैर्गुणैः । *Ibid*
6. सचेतनश्चित्ता योगात्रदभावादचेतनः । *Ibid*, p. 81
7. यदा परमार्थदर्शनं कृत्वा निवृत्तो धर्मः, तदा निबीजीस्यात्मनः शरीरादिबीजधर्माधर्माहितस्यात्मन उत्पन्नानां शरीरादीनां कर्मक्षयान्निवृत्तौ भतायामना गतानां कारणाभावादनुत्पत्तौ यथा दग्धन्धनस्यानल स्योपशमः पुनरनुत्पादः एवं पुनः शरीरानुत्पादो मोक्षः । Śrīdhara, *Nyāyakandali On Prasata-pāda bhāṣya* with three sub-commentaries, ed Jetly, J. S. and parikh, V. G. Oriental anstitute, Vadodara, 1991, p. 632.
8. Hiriyanna, M., *Indian Conception of Values*, Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore, 1975, p. 255.
9. Śrīharṣa, *Naiṣadhacarita* of Śrīharsa, Trans. by K. K. Handiqui, Deccan College Monograph Series, Poona, 1956, pp. 17-75.
मुक्तये यः शिलात्वाय शास्त्रमूचे सचेतसाम् ।
गौतमं तमवेलैव यथा वित्थ तथैव स ॥
10. अपरे तु बोधादीनिखिलवैशेषिकगुणोच्छेदेन क्षेत्रज्ञस्य स्वरूपावस्थानम् । NM. p. 270
11. तृतीयोपि मोक्षप्रकारो न पुरुषार्थगन्धमनुभवेद, दुःखोच्छेद परमपुरुषार्थ इति चेत् । कुतः पुनर्निखिल-
सुखोच्छेदादपुरुषार्थोपि न भवेत्, तथाच समव्ययफलत्वान्न मोक्षाय प्रेक्षावतां प्रवृत्तिः NM. p. 275
12. व्यसनानि दुरन्तानि समव्ययफलानि च । अशक्यानि च वस्तुनि नारभेत विचक्षण ॥ NM. p. 276.
13. *Ibid*. 14. *Ibid*, p. 276-277
15. दुःखाभावोपि नावेशः पुरुषार्थतयेष्यते, नहि मूर्च्छाश्वस्थार्थं प्रवृत्तो दृश्यते सुधीर ॥ NM. p. 277
16. *Ibid*, p. 278 17. *Ibid*, p. 278-279 18. *Ibid*, p. 290
19. दुःखहानाय नो युक्तं सुखं दुःखात्मकं वरं, नहि कश्चित्पदार्थज्ञो मोहसिद्धं प्रवर्त्तते ॥ NM. p. 280

Reconsideration of Śrī Śaṅkuka's Views on rasa-nispatti

Tapasvi Nandi*

Śrī Śaṅkuka is one of those ācāryas whose views on rasa-realization have been quoted by Abhinavagupta while commenting on the rasasūtra of Bharata (Nāṭya-śāstra, Ch. VI rasādhyāya). Here we will attempt a reconsideration of Śrī Śaṅkuka's views.

Śrī Śaṅkuka disagrees with Lollaṭa and is not inclined to take rasa as an intensified mental state (Upacitaḥ bhāvaḥ), but for him rasa is an imitated mental state, which is later inferred by the connoisseur (sāmājika) in the artist (naṭa) who is taken to be the character such as Rama and the like. The actor or artist, holds Śaṅkuka, successfully imitates the original character and his experience. This imitation by the artist is artificial and unreal, but it does not seem to be so to the spectators, who forget the difference between the artist and the character, on account of artful presentation by the former (vastu-saundarya-balāt), and inferentially experience the mental state of the character. This experience involves two steps on the part of the sāmājika. First of all he takes the artist to be a character, say Rāma, Duṣyanta, etc. This cognition on the part of the sāmājika, Śrī Śaṅkuka explains, is a unique form of cognition which is neither real (samyak), nor unreal (mithyā), and also neither of the form of doubt (Saṁśaya) nor of comparison (Sādrśya). Śrī Śaṅkuka explains this unique cognition which is peculiar to the field of art only, on the analogy of 'citra-turaga' or painted horse. After this, the artist who is cognised as this or that character by the spectator, artfully imitates the character. The presentation is so charming that the spectator artfully infers the feelings of the character. This anukṛta-anumita-bhāva is rasa for Śrī Śaṅkuka.

Thus, Śrī Śaṅkuka seems to be the first known critic who divorces art-experience from the normal work a day world experience, and co-relates it with the connoisseur. However, Abhinava's master Tauta finds fault with Śaṅkuka's theory of anukṛti-anumiti. The main thrust of Tauta's argument seems to be that the effect of imitation is bound to be ridiculous, causing laughter and mockery and that it cannot have any connection with aesthetic experience. If inference also cannot be said to cause pleasure : 'laukikānumāne tu Rā-rasata' ?—Observes Abhinavagupta later on.

However, it should be carefully noted that in ordinary partance we have to resort to inference to realize someone else's feelings. We can only infer someone else's

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feeling but can never directly experience it. So, Śaṅkuka seems to hold that in art, it could be an artful inference with the help of the artful imitation on the part of the artist. Thus both these 'imitation' and 'inference' peculiar to the field of art need not be taken in their strict philosophical connotation. Śrī Śaṅkuka and later Mahimā seem to underline this peculiar special nature of imitation and inference taking shape in the contest of art alone, both performing and literary; Mahimā, a great protagonist of 'Kāvya-numiti'—poetic inference—clearly declares that this poetic inference is not to be taken as identical with normal logical inference—tarkānumiti and that it is foolish to expect the perfection of the latter in the former. What is important and undeniable is the fact that even in our normal walk of life we do infer some one else's feelings, and everytime the inference may not be strictly logical in its form. What is important is the process and it is inference here, i.e. in the context of art experience. Thus imitation and inference are meant to be taken in their poetic context, in their so called loose seuge. They may not and need not stand the scrutiny of a hard-core Logician. We may also observe that the position of 'abhivyakti'—'Suggestion' is also similar for it cannot be saved from the charges levelled against it by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who goes to observe that a manifested thing 'abhivyakta' has to be pūrva-siddha i.e. has to have a prior existence and rasa-experience can not claim previous independent existence. Those who take rasa as abhivyakta do not accept it as pūrva-siddha like pot (ghaṭa) in a dark room which is manifested by light later. If we accept abhivyakti of rasa, then all difficulties enumerated by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka will follow.

But then Abhinavagupta seems to hold that this 'abhivyakti'—manifestation of rasa is not to be absolutely equated with the abhivyakti/manifestation of the dārśanikas/philosophers for 'rasa' or aesthetic experience is not pūrva-siddha, i.e. it does not have a prior independent existence. It is only 'tātkālika' i.e. that which takes place only when the complex of determinants (vibhāvas), consequents (anubhāvas) and accessories (vyabhicārins) lasts. Rasa-experience is pari passu with vibhāvādi-complex, i.e. it lasts only till this complex lasts—Vibhāvādijivitāvadhiḥ.

The point is that if Abhinavagupta's abhivyakti is not absolutely identical with abhivyakti of the dārśanikas, can be acceptable in the field of art and literature,, what is wrong in accepting Śrī Śaṅkuka's special anukṛti-anumiti i.e. imitation inference in artistic context? The point is why not accept anumiti as imagined by Śaṅkuka and which hardly differs from Vyañjanā of the dhvanivādins? Actually there is greater substance in what Śaṅkuka says and his unique anukṛti anumiti is not virtually different from 'abhivyakti' of the dhvanivādins. And perhaps, between the two the postulation of Kāvya-numiti involves a lesser amount of gaurava-doṣa as compared to the vyañjanā of the dhvanivādins. The point is that if you ask, "why inference?" then our retort is, "why vyañjanā?"

Some Historical Facts Found in the Poem Prabhuvamsam by Govinda

P. U. Shastri*

Govinda Pandit's Prabhuvamsam is a खण्डकाव्य which contains 111 verses¹ with 4 additional concluding verses. This poem is composed in different metres like अनुष्टुप, मंजुवामरम्, खण्डजाति etc. By its title प्रभुवंशम् one is led to believe that the dynasty of प्रभु means God might have been described in this poem. In fact, the life of पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव is described in the poem प्रभुवंशम् by Govinda.

Our poet Govinda introduces पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव by the name माधव² in this poem because in his poetic fancy, पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव is an incarnation of माधव i.e. Lord Viṣṇu.

It is noteworthy that our poet's name is गोविन्द. His commentator's name is अनन्त and Peshva's name also is माधव. All these three names strikingly convey the sense Lord Viṣṇu.

Our poet has much regard for पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव because he seems to be a महाराष्ट्री brahmin. He composed his प्रभुवंशम् not before 1774 A.D. in which year पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव was born. His commentator अनन्त also seems to be a महाराष्ट्री brahmin because salute Lord Gaṇeṣa in the first verse³ prefixed to his commentary प्रभुवंशव्याख्या. गोविन्द and अनन्त—both mention that पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव was born in शक संवत् 1696⁴ i.e. 1774 A.D. So both of them composed their works at least after 1774 A.D.

Our poet declares himself to be a disciple of one विद्वानन्द सन्यासिन् who gave inspiration for composing this poem.⁵

प्रभुवंशम् begins with the description of Peshvas, the rulers of Maratha kingdom (Verses 1 to 10). Then पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव's birth is described in brief (Verses 11 to 14). The childhood of पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव is narrated afterwards (Verses 15 to 23). Then पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव's sacred-thread-ceremony (उपनयन संस्कार) is described with some details (Verses 24 to 29). Then पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव's marriage with रमा is described at full length (Verses 30 to 89). Then पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव, on his minister's request, started to perform all his royal duties and thereby pleased his subjects is described.

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(Verses 90 to 111). In the concluding four verses (i.e. Verses 112 to 115) the फलश्रुति of this poem and some information about poet etc. are presented:

In this poem, पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव's personal history is presented with poet's fancy. The poetic element in this poem is enhanced by colourful imagination and beautiful figures of speech. The suggestive words and different metres add more poetic beauty or charm in this poem. The rhythmic वैदसी style is very effectively employed. The various expressions are superb. The descriptions are lofty. Thus, the poetic element in this poem is of high rank. Besides this poetic element, this poem throws some light on the life of पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव and his ancestors as follows :

(1) In this poem, the first पेश्वा बालाजी विश्वनाथ is called बल्लाल by our poet. He was a ruler and native of ईशुपत province.⁶ This ईशुपत is our कांकाण province as explained by the commentator अनन्त. बल्लाल i.e. बालाजी विश्वनाथ was a native of the village श्रीवर्धन, situated in भार्गव i.e. परछुराम District of कांकाण province.⁷

(2) His son बाजिराव I is called बाजिराय in this poem. He left कांकाण and settled in Poona. He established himself as a good administrator.⁸

(3) बाजिराव's son बालाजी बाजिराव is also called बल्लाल in this poem. As our poet describes बालाजी बाजिराव was an able, eminent & generous ruler.⁹

(4) Our poet गोविन्दपण्डित ignores पेश्वा माधवराव I and states that बालाजी बाजिराव or बल्लाल's son was पेश्वा नारायणराव.¹⁰ In our poet's opinion, नारायण पेश्वा was a brave and prominent king, possessing many qualities essential for a good king.¹¹

It is very strange that our poet omits पेश्वा माधवराव I who was बालाजी बाजिराव's son. This fact is not noted in this poem. In order to give importance to पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव, the hero of this poem, our poet ignores पेश्वा माधवराव I, who was a more powerful ruler.

Being a poet, गोविन्दपण्डित ignores historical facts and describes the weak rulers नारायणराव and सवाई माधवराव as the able and good rulers. For the sake of propriety, the poet has got to describe his hero as the best person. Here lies the difference between history and poetry. Thus, their minister नाना फडनवीस also is presented as an ideal minister, though his intention was not fair.

(5) When नारायणराव met with an untimely death, his wife गंगाबाई was pregnant. Afterwards, she stayed at पुरंदर.¹²

(6) Queen गंगाबाई gave birth to her son सवाई माधवराव in Śaka era 1696 i.e. 1774 A. D. पेश्वा सवाई माधवराव was born on Monday, the 7th day of the bright-half of the month अधिकृष्ण i.e. in the spring season of जय संवत्सर. At that

time, the moon was in constellation पुनर्वसु i.e. सिंह राशि. He was born after 16th घटी of that day i.e. about mid-day.¹³

(7) नाना फडनवीस was his loyal, able and clever minister. He managed all the political affairs with confidence and success. His name is नाना in this poem for the sake of metre.¹⁴ He is the central character in this Poem.

(8) The sacred-thread ceremony (उपनयनविधि) of सवाई माधवराव was performed in पार्वती area near Poona.¹⁵

(9) पेशवा सवाई माधवराव married with रमाबाई यत्ते.¹⁶ Her name रमा was given to her after her marriage with पेशवा सवाई माधवराव.¹⁷

All these points prove that प्रभुवंशम् by गोविन्दपण्डित is a poem of high rank, it does contain some valuable facts of history. Thus, there is a happy blending of historical facts and poetic nuances in the poem प्रभुवंशम् composed by गोविन्दपण्डित.

Footnotes

1. नानाकारकरुद्रकोत्तरशतश्लोकाभिशाखाततशम् । (प्रभुवंशम्, V. 113)
एकादशोत्तरशतोत्तमपद्यमालाम् । (Ibid., V. 112)
2. गंगोदरान्माधवः । (Ibid., V. 10)
जातो यदा माधवः । (Ibid., V. 12 etc.)
3. श्रीमद्गणेशमानम्य बालानां बोधसिद्धये ।
अनन्तः कुरुते व्याख्यां प्रभुवंशस्य बोधिनीम् ॥ (टीकाकृतो मंगलश्लोकः)
4. यातेऽङ्गनन्दागमक्षमामानाब्दमिते । (प्रभुवंशम्, V. 10)
१६९६ एतत्परिमिते अनेहसि काले । (प्रभुवंशव्याख्या on verse 10)
5. श्रीशंकराचार्यपदाधिरूढश्रीमच्चिदानन्दगुरोर्निर्देशात् ।
गोविन्दसूक्तिः प्रभुवंशनाम्ना मान्यास्तु लोके विबुधैः समस्तैः ॥ (प्रभुवंशम्, verse 115)
6. बल्लालो रमतेऽधुपातविषये श्रीवर्धने भार्गवक्षेत्रे । (प्रभुवंशम्, Verse 2)
7. इधुपात इति कोंकणसंज्ञा । श्रीवर्धने ग्रामे । भार्गवक्षेत्रे परशुरामक्षेत्रे ।
(प्रभुवंशव्याख्या on verse 2)
8. सूतुरथास्य पुण्यनगरे श्रीबाजिरायप्रभुः । (प्रभुवंशम्, V. 2)
9. बल्लालः पुनरास तस्य तनयः श्रीमान् वदान्यः क्षमः । (Ibid., V. 2)
10. तस्यासीत् किल वंशसंततिकरः पुत्रस्तु नारायणः । (Ibid., V. 2)

11. निनापूर्णः सशक्तिः शिवसच्चिद्युतो राजकर्मप्रवीणो
धन्यः सत्यप्रतिज्ञो बहुलकुशलवाग्धर्मशौर्यप्रतापी ।
शत्रोः स्तुत्यः सभायां रविसममुमहा राजसिंहासनादथः
पृथ्वीपाणिग्रहीता नृपतिरतिमतिश्चास नारायणः सः ॥ (*Ibid.*, verse 3)
12. कालं कियन्तं स विहृत्य भूमौ गतो यवीयानपि देवलोकम् ।
निधाय गर्भं किल धर्मपत्न्यां तेजो निधायार्क इवास्तमग्नौ ॥
नृपांगनाथ गर्भिणी ह्यमोघवीर्यधारिणी
तमोरिबिबधारिणी दिगिन्द्रपालितेव सा ।
महोग्रदुष्टशासना सुशोभना वरश्रिया
विशेषसौख्यदायकं पुरन्दरं समाश्रितः ॥ (प्रभुवंशम्, V. 4-5)
13. स्वस्ति श्रीनृपशालिवाहनशकाचातेऽङ्गनन्दागमक्षमानाब्दमिते त्वनेहसि जये वर्षे वसन्तेऽधिके ।
राघे श्वेतदले शुभे मुनितियौ सोमेऽदितौ चोदितादर्कादष्टिषटीष्वितासु समभूद् गंगोदरान्माधवः ॥
(*Ibid.*, V. 10)
- अंगानि षट् नन्दा नव आगमाः षट् क्षमा पृथ्वी एका.....१६९६ एतत्परिमिते.....
जयनाम्नि वर्षे वसन्ते ऋतौ अधिके राघे वैशाखमासे श्वेतदले शुक्लपक्षे.....सप्तम्यां सोमे वारे अदितौ
पुनर्वसुनक्षत्रे.....षोडशषटीषु इतासु.....। (प्रभुवंशान्याख्या on verse 10)
14. श्रीमन्माधवभूभुजा ध्रुवमिदं नानाख्यसन्मन्त्रिणा । (प्रभुवंशम्, verse 90)
15. कालं तस्योपनीताबुचितमतिर्वीक्ष्य मंत्री स कस्मिन्
स्थाने कार्योपनीतिः सकलबुज्जना निर्यपृच्छद् वरिष्ठान् ।
सर्वेषां संमतोऽभून्नृपपुरनिकटे पर्वतीयोग्यदेशो
राज्ञा साकं ससेनास्तमगुरथ विभोश्चक्रुरत्रोपनीतिम् ॥ (*Ibid.*, verse 24)
16. पाणिग्रहोचितनृपस्य वधू स मंत्री
यत्तोपनामतनयां किल निश्चिकाय । (*Ibid.*, verse 30)
17. वेलायां किल दैवविद्वरतरैरुच्चारितायां गृहान्
यातौ तौ तु वधूवरौ फलकरौ देवान् मुदा नेमतुः ।
लक्ष्मीपूजनमुखसवेन महता विद्वन्निराधायि तैर्विष्वा नाम रमेत्यकारि जगतामानन्दसंदोहदम् ॥
(*Ibid.*, verse 88)

Ahmedabad : An Islamic Garden City

Subhash Brahmbhatt*

While the tradition of gardens and their cultivation in Islamic India is well known with the gardens of the Mughal Period in Northern India being the most famous, it is worth bringing to light the significant tradition of gardens in Ahmedabad during the Sultanate and Mughal period, which has rarely if ever been treated as the subject of research. From the descriptions and accounts of travellers and contemporary writers, it is not unreasonable to say that the gardens of Ahmedabad must have been equal to those of any other great Islamic city.

Unfortunately, today, little or nothing remains of these gardens due to the ravages of war and time and nature herself when she reverts back to an uncultivated state.

This article proposes to describe the more famous of the gardens of the Sultanate and Mughal period using contemporary narratives and travellers' accounts as the principal sources along with whatever remains of them in the place itself.

In 1411 A.D. Ahmad Shah I shifted the capital of Gujarat from Anhilvad Patan to Ashaval on the bank of the river Sabarmati, in the immediate vicinity of the old towns of Ashawal and Karnavati, and gave his name to the new city, which became the most important town in Western India and has remained the metropolis of Gujarat for the last 575 years. The transfer of the capital of Gujarat from Anhilvad patan, for six centuries the seat of Government, to a new locality, was not to be undertaken without spiritual guidance. "Tradition" says that the Sultan, with the aid of the Saint Sheikh Ahmad Khattu (Ganj-Bakhsh), invoked the authority of the venerable and mysterious personage known as Al-Khizr, who is identified by some Muslim divines with the prophet Elijah. From him permission was obtained to build a city provided its boundaries were lined by four Ahmads who were noted for their piety and righteousness." The four Ahmads are said to have been helped by twelve Babas or Faquirs who took part in the foundation ceremony of the city.

Sultans from Ahmad Shah I to Muzaffar Shah III (from 1411 A.D. to 1573 A.D.) and their noblemen adorned the city with buildings which remain among the most noteworthy examples of Islamic architecture in Western India.

Of the provincial architectural styles which developed in the belt of Muslim States across pre-Mughal Hindustan, the most developed and influential was that of Gujarat, a style that reflected both the taste and interest of the powerful Muslim

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rulers and the unsurpassed skill of the native craftsman. "These Gujarati workmen introduced a naturalistic element into the decoration of Muslim buildings throughout the North."

In 1573 A.D., Gujarat became a province of the Mughal Empire under Akbar and Ahmedabad retained its importance under the rule of Mughal governors. The Emperor Aurangzeb took interest in promoting trade and commerce of Gujarat and especially at Ahmedabad and Surat. Customs duty levied at the sea-ports of Gujarat continued to be a great source of income. No ruler of India in those days could afford to ignore this income from seaborne trade with the whole world. At that time, the coastal towns of Gujarat were famous throughout the known world as commercial centres, and many foreign travellers used to visit Gujarat with the sea traders, who came on business.

As a result of this prosperity and the richness of the land, Gujarat became known for its cultural activities, its contact with the actual world on account of trade and commerce, its development of various industries, its great trade guilds or 'Mahajanams', which controlled social and economic life as well as its encouragement of arts such as architecture, woodwork, painting on palm leaves, paper and cloth, music, dance. Ahmedabad and Surat were among the richest cities of India, the foreign travellers all agreed in describing Ahmedabad as one of the biggest, richest and most handsome cities in the East.

While today the city is characterised by rapidly expanding uncontrolled urban development, the picture of early Ahmedabad would have been very different : a city contained by splendid gates and fortifications on the bank of the Sabarmati rising up out of a flat scrubby landscape. By using water from the river, wells and reservoirs, gardens containing plants from all parts of the country could be maintained.

Sultan Mahmood Begda, who ruled Gujarat from 1459 A.D. to 1511 A.D., was the first ruler to take great interest in the development of gardens of this city.¹ During his reign, beautifully decorated palatial buildings were built and large gardens were laid out around the city. The number of gardens of rulers and of noblemen increased and, during this period, lakes also were constructed.

Many European travellers visited this city during the 16th and 17th centuries. They were, among others, Whittington, Edward Terry, Sir Thomas Howard, Albert de Mendelslo, Barbosa, Sir Thomas Ros, and William Hawkins.²

Barbosa of Lisbon, who visited Gujarat 2-3 years after the death of Sultan Mahmood Begda, has written about Ahmedabad : "These towns (Champaner and Ahmedabad) are well embellished with good streets and houses of stone and white-wash, with roofs in our fashion, and they have large courts and much water in wells and pools,...and many orchards and gardens."

The French traveller Jean de Thevenot describes the city of Ahmedabad as follows :

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"There are so many trees and gardens in Ahmedabad that if one views it from a great height, it might look like a forest. Many of its buildings are hidden behind trees."

In 17th century, the writer of Tarikhe-Firishta says : "Ahmedabad is the most beautiful city in all of India, perhaps it can be said to be the most beautiful city in the whole world."³

The coins of 17th century describe the city as : "Shahre Muazam"⁴—"The Great City", and the coins of the period of the great Akbar describe it as "Zinnat-Ul-Bilad"—"Most Beautiful of the Cities".

Mirza Mahmad Hasam, the great writer of Mirat-I-Ahmedi, says : "The rulers and rich noblemen of this city have built many gardenes around it. These gardens have many sweet scented and colourful flowers and fruits in them that keep the atmosphere of the city cool and hygienic and there are many beautiful streams, fountains and water-falls that please the eye."

One regrets, reading this description, how those trees and gardens have disappeared from this city and how such a dirty, dusty and smoke-ridden city has taken their place. In 1984, once, Indire Gandhi, having flown over Ahmedabad in an aeroplane, said, in a public lecture at Bhavnagar, "I saw nothing but smoke and dust. Do we really want to make such industrial progress ?"

In 1451, Sultan Kutubuddin completed the construction of a big artificial lake called Hoj-e-Kutub on the south side of the city. Today this tank is known as Kankaria Lake. There is a beautiful garden at the centre, called 'Bag-e-Nagina, or the Signet Garden. No doubt, the rulers used to reside in this Bag-e-Nagina to escape from the summer heat of the city. It was a beauty spot for the people, the Sultans of Ahmedabad and Mughal emperors like Jahangir. Almost all of the European travellers who visited Ahmedabad, including the Czar of Russia, who also visited at and of the last century, have praised this lake for its design, artistic layout, carved sluices, outlets and Mandaps. This garden looks like a precious stone set in a ring. It would have served as a gathering place for court festivities, song and dancing and music, there was a small palace, named "Ghata Mandal Mahal",⁵ built for this purpose, in the centre of the lake. These dances are now no more, celebrations now take place in big halls and the pleasure of open air performances at Bag-e-Nagina is no more.

Shah-Vadi is a now small village in the south-east of Ahmedabad, but in the sultanate period, it was a beautiful walled garden, filled with scented flowers, with two gates—one each in North and Sourh. It had stone paved roads and measured 62 bighas in area. For its maintence, 4 pairs of bullocks, 8 gardeners and a sweeper were employed.⁶

'Bag-E-Firdaus' also no longer exists though there is still a viilage of this name in the east of Ahmedabad near Ramol. It is said to have been built by Sultan

Mahmood Begda, who had nine lakh mango and 'Rayan' trees planted. Hence, it was also known as "Nav Lakho (of nine lakhs) Bag." It is said to have been 10 miles long and 2 miles wide. Bag-e-Firdaus means Garden of Heaven.⁷ By irony of fate, the lands of this once 'Garden of paradise' now serve as dumping ground for the refuge from the city by the local municipality.

In the east of Ahmedabad, there was a lovely garden know as Bag-e-Shayaban, named after Malik Shaban, a famous Muslim saint, who was buried in the garden where he used to pray. According to Mirat-I-Ahmedi, it was surrounded by a wall of brick and contained beautiful buildings, a mosque, tank with stone steps and a step well. All traces of the garden have now disappeared. It appears from the works of European travellers of 17th century that during the period of the sultanate and even later, the road leading from the city of Ahmedabad to Malik Shaban's garden and to the monuments of Rakhyal was one long avenue covered with shany trees on both sides.⁸ Mandelslo, who visited the capital in 1638, refers to the same.

There was also a 'Harde' garden in the city. Harde is considered to be a very effective purgative in Ayurveda. Specially appointed gardeners used to look after it. It was near Rakhyal village.

Fateh-Bag was another place of retreat built outside the city. In 1584 A. D., Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan Khana defeated the last Sultan of Ahmedabad, Sultan Muzaffar the 3rd, near Sarkhej.⁹ In memory of the victory (Fateh) this garden was built at Sarkhej, where the Dargah of Ganj-Bakhsh and some of the sultanate rulers already existed. There was a well around with butress, and streams, roads and beautiful pavillions within. The German traveller Aalbert de Mandeslo [came to see it in 1638 A. D. praising the beauty of the garden, he writes, "This is the biggest and the most beautiful garden. It has many beautiful buildings and many fruit trees. It is one of the many beautiful places in the world. There are fruit trees bearing oranges, pomegranates, dates, almonds, mulbarry, tamarind, cocoanuts, citrons, etc."¹⁰ Nothing remains of this garden except parts of one or two pavillions.

Jeet-Bag. Gulab-Bag and Bag-e-Tot were also equally large and beautiful gardens from the accounts but their sites cannot be located today.

Farman-vadi was on the opposite bank of the river to the west of the city, near the present Gujarat College. Perhaps the existing Law Garden is a part of this Farman-Vedi, or if not actually part of it, there is no doubt that the Law Garden of the present is a link with the pleasure garden of old.

Rustom Bag was built by Amir Rustom Khan. It occupied 60 bighas of land on the river bank to the north near Shahi-Bag. It had 4 small buildings add a domed pavillion, 6 wells and a stone gate, all surrounded by a wall. The writer of Mirat I-Ahmedi says Jahangir visited this garden several times.

Shahi-Bag was laid out in the time of Shahjahan, son of Jahangir, who was then the Governor of Gujarat. During that period, Gujarat had passed through a famine, and in order to provide work for the poor and hungry people, the Government had started constructing a garden in 1621-22 A. D. on the bank of Sabarmati in an area consisting of 105 bighas.¹¹ They built many beautiful buildings, arches, seats, streams and reservoirs. They also built a wall around with 12 buttresses and a gate. When the garden was ready, it was said to be the biggest and the most beautiful of all. The writer of *Mirat-i-Ahmedi* writes : "For the management of this garden, 100 bullocks, 70 gardeners, a manager, a treasurer, and seven servants were employed." All the varieties of the roses that we find all over India were grown here. The garden was destroyed during the reign of the Marathas. They did not take any care of it and cut down its trees and the floods of the river did the rest. However, the palace remained and was used until recently as the Governor's House. There are a few big trees that still stand as a living testimony to the once great Shahi-Bag garden. In 1638, Mandeslo came to visit this place. Thevenot came in 1666, and James Forbes in 1781.¹² Describing Shahi-Bag, Thavenot says : "Every variety of tree that we find in India is grown here in this garden. It was a straight road with beautiful trees in rows on both sides. They resemble the Course de la Reine in Paris."¹³ James Forbes had seen the remains of a broken fountain. In 1875, a great flood destroyed whatever was left of the garden.

While the garden itself is no more, the memory of it survives in the huge gardens of the wealthy industrialists who live in that area, safe from the filth of their own industries. Hence, this locality remains the most beautiful and least polluted in the city.

Ahmedabad lost much of its splendour during the political disorders which followed the fall of Mughal Empire. The Maratha rule was comparatively short but they destroyed so much. In such depressed conditions, the British took over this province in the beginning of the last century. The British Rule was also an industrial invasion. The development of Ahmedabad as the first major mechanised textile producing centres of India brought polluted prosperity to the city with the old town ringed by chimneys and mills. Through lack of patronage many Muslim institutions ceased to exist including the gardens. However, new gardens were laid out in various parts of the city following the British tradition of public parks which still provide moments of shelter and calm for those who go there to escape the chaos of the ever growing city.

Footnotes

1. R. C. Parikh & H. G. Shastri, *Gujaratno Rajkiya ane Sanskritik Itihas*, Vol. V, p. 99
2. William Foster (ed), *Early Travels in India*, pp. 173, 206 & 300
3. R. C. Parikh & H. G. Shastri, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 401

(Contd. on page 64)

Subaltern as Poets : Folk Songs of the Bhils of Southern Rajasthan : C. 1870-1915 *

Makrand Mehta +

In recent years subaltern historians have added new dimension by focussing their attention to the oppressed sections of Indian Society.¹ This is, indeed, an encouraging sign. But one could still argue that most of the sources, whether government records or newspaper reports were, after all, created by the officials and writers who had little or no links with the masses inhabiting the remote forests and rural areas. The question, therefore, is : To what extent could these sources be relied upon in order to understand the consciousness of the subalterns such as the adivasi peasants? In this respect, their folk literature provides new insights. For instance, the Bhils of Southern Rajasthan, although they were illiterate, had a rich oral tradition; they created and recited folk songs in a group. Seen and appreciated in their totality, they reflect their own sensitivity—feelings of joy, hope, despair, self-assertion, anguish, etc. A study of such an oral literature including the proverbs, riddles, and even sports has a potentiality to develop the subaltern theme further. The objective of this paper is to narrate and understand the folk songs of the Bhils of Southern Rajasthan, namely, Dungarpur, Sunth, and Banswara bordering the Rajasthan Gujarat regions.²

A large number of these Bhils had lived for centuries in the forest areas of this region, then known as the Rewa Kantha. They had ruled these territories, and although they had been pushed into the jungles following the various Muslim invasions during the 13th and the 17th centuries and also during the Maratha invasions, they had still "burst forth like a half quenched flame" to assert their right and their independence.³

The British rulers claimed that the Bhils had become mild and submissive on account of the government's "strong and kindly" policy. But at the same time the British records described them as "criminal tribes". In this later respect the British were right, for, the Bhils, apart from being cultivators and watchmen, also operated as cattle-lifters, thieves, and bandits. They had preferred these occupations to begging. They also drank a lot. "Everywhere the drunkenness is the Bhil's besetting sin", the Gazetteer observes, "and, for drink they barter all the grain in their house and they have to borrow at ruinous rates, or steal". The Gazetteer adds: "From his indiscriminate fondness for flesh and his want of reverence for life, the Bhil holds a very low place among the Hindus, and though his touch does not defile, his is one of the few classes from whom a high caste Gujarati Hindu will not take water".⁴

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The Gazetteer informs that the Bhils were “very loose” in their marital relations. A man married a number of times. A Bhil widow married again. If a married woman fell in love with another person, she could divorce her husband and marry her lover. In that case her next husband had to pay the marriage expenses borne by her previous husband.⁵

The Bhils, although Hindus, did not hold Brahmins in reverence. Instead of approaching a Brahman, they took the services of their own *bhagat* to perform the birth, marriage, and death ceremonies, or for driving away the evil spirits.⁶ In short, the Bhils did not share the socio-cultural ethos of the High Caste Hindus.

The life style of the Gujarat-Rajasthan border Bhils is expressed in their folk-songs. A book published in 1915 sheds significant light on their social and cultural life as also on their criminal tendencies. Nathji Maheshwar Pathak, teacher in the Pratapgadh town, noted down verbatim the songs as they were actually sung by the Bhils, and he published a book *Bhilonan Gito* in 1915. We reproduce the songs to understand the various facets of their cultural life. In the first song a married woman has a paramour. How to meet him? She has an idea, and she asks Waghji, her lover, to sneak gently to her home. She argues, “My mother-in-law and father-in-law are inside in the *parsal*, and my husband is as dull as a shepherd of donkies... Waghji, cross the bamboo fence, climb the gate having jingling bells, and come along silently”. In another, song, a shepherd boy desires to elope with his beloved, but has no money. He asks his beloved: “If we elope, what shall we eat? We will go towards the Godhra town. But what, if the officials ask for the road cess or the transit-duty? We could go there at night, but in that case, we might be suspected as thieves. My pocket is empty, Ratan, and with that my illusion has also disappeared”. Thus, in the case of Ratan and her lover, there are “many slips between a cup and a lip”. One of the songs describes a Vohra peddler who visits village with ornaments. This delights the girl and she buys anklets, *bindi*, and other things. She then gracefully walks through the streets.

The vohras, however, did not have a smooth sailing. They operated as the principal money-lenders to the Bhils of the Gujarat-Rajasthan border.⁷ Nathji Pathak, in the preface of his book referred to above, has categorically stated that the Bhils did not know how to calculate and how much to pay to buy the commodities. They paid whatever price the shop-keeper demanded with the words: “You and your Baba Rama know better”. Pathak also states that the Vohra and the Vania money-lenders and shop-keepers cheated them. On one occasion the Bhils led by Waghji, looted the cart-load of goods which was on its way to the Galiakot village fare. Another folk song provides a graphic picture of this incident. The poor Mulla (Vohra merchants) prayed to his *pir* as the Bhils looted the carts. But in an encounter which followed between the escorts of the Vohras and the Bhil robbers, Waghji lost his life. Thus the two songs depicting Vohras have two different themes. The words and the emotive expressions are transparent and natural. The songs do not exhibit the Bhils

as having love or hatred for the Vohras; they are indifferent to the existence of the Vohras. Having no social or emotional bonds, the Bhils would buy from them as candidly as they would sack them on the high way.

The theme of many Bhil songs centres round their hereditary profession, that of a bandit. The Bhils carrying various arms are shown as performing an act of adventure, prowess, and valour. If they die during the skirmish, they die a heroic death and become a legendary figure in the folksongs. The following songs show them as bandits. These songs were written during the periods of famines; the great famine of 1899–1901 had become a definite subject-matter of the Bhil folk-songs. A song describes how the bandits were imprisoned during the great famine of 1899–1901 and how they cut their chains, broke open the prison, and escaped.⁸ The leader of this Bhil gang was Ruplo Kataro, Chief of the Methu village of Dungarpur State. The others who escaped were Rupla's brother Lembo, Jatyo, and Tagji. On another occasion Mangalia Bhil had to pay the price of his 'criminal' act. This bandit was caught and imprisoned. The British official, referred to as 'Farangi' in the song, sent for him and tried him. During the trial the court asked him: "Who burnt the upper floor of the mansion? Who snatched the wristlets of the female distiller? Who cut off her legs?" Mangalia's reply to the Political Agent was dignified, straight and simple: "It is I, this bull, who burnt the floor, wrested the wristlets of the distiller, and cut her legs". Perhaps Mangalia's reply was a symbol of collective manifestation of deep resentment among the Bhils against the British and the native ruling chiefs during the period of famines. The song ends with a sad note. It says: "Mangalia is condemned to be hanged. Send for Mangalia's wife and children. Send for Mangalia's father and uncles. Mangalia is hanged".⁹

The Bhils did not fail to take advantage of the period of political instability and anarchy at the various periods of time. The Marathas had crushed their revolts, but after the downfall of the Marathas, the Bhils also considered it their right to exact *Chauth* from the surrounding regions. This is vigorously expressed in their folk-song. It says that Harjibhai and Gangjibhai, leaders of the Bhil gang, claimed the *chauth* of the Vagad region (Territory between Sunth and Vanswada) as their hereditary right. They collected a band of robbers; they sent for a *dholi* (bandman), and made him to announce that those who wished to die with them should collect their bows and arrows. "The youngsters should gather together. Prepare *ghughari*, *bakla*, and *Kasumba* in abundance". The Bhils then start off but they are afraid of the bad omen. They considered it an auspicious sign if a crow crowed from the right direction. If she crowed from the left side, it was a sure sign of their doom. But in that case, they would avert their ill-omen by burrying the wild bushes into the ground. The Bhils go with all sorts of weapons, making defaning sounds with their musical instruments, and they reach the Tamatiya village in the Dungarpur State. All Bhils 'play' with their weapons. Gangji and Harji move fast with their bows and arrows. But they are

chased by what the song describes as a *tentu*. The Bhils used this contemptuous term for the Rajputs and the Garasias whom they considered as a lamb. This *tentu* asks : "To which place you Bhils belong? "Harji and Ganji reply : "Sir, we are the respectable people of our village". They advised him to go back lest he should be killed in an affront. But the *tentu*, in a moment, flashed his gun and fired it. The lead came out straight from Harji's leg. Gangji did not miss his moment and he killed *tentu*. The song ends thus : "Harjibhai's leg is broken. Children, come and prepare a *doli* to carry Harjibhai with us".

The famines of the second half of the nineteenth century had caused disastrous effects on Rajasthan and Gujarat. The contemporary Bhils composed folk songs on the famines and sang them in a group. These songs reflect their helpless condition. "No water in rivers, no food, no blade of grass. People die". The songs do not attempt to establish any relationship between the hunger-stricken Bhils and the outside world. They do not blame rain-god. Nor do they blame the British or the native chiefs. It is only the immediate problem of food which makes them raise arms. And they loot whatever and whoever comes on their way. This is the profession which they know best and they feel no guilty about it. Thus they loot the queen of Udaipur who is on her way to a pilgrimage. Famine is all around. There is no water and food. A band of robbers under Laluda's leadership is waiting for the queen's Palanquin to pass. The moment they have seen the palanquin, they pounce upon it with thundering noise. The song ends with these words : "The robbers sacked the queen. She had the golden plates and the silver cups. The robbers, after looting, disappeared".

During the famine of 1899-1901 the Bhils of the Gujarat Rajasthan border created a havoc; they plundered many towns and villages and also plundered merchants on the highway. The official accounts describe them as "criminals". The Bhils, had however, a different self image. They were prepared to suffer for the consequences of their act, but they did not consider themselves as criminals. Their folk-songs show beyond doubt that they had a store of information about the neighbouring regions, the names of the rulers and their officials. For instance they mention the name of Joravarsingh as the prince of Sunth when they attacked that town during the famine of 1899-1901. Their folk-song describes Kirpashankar as the *diwan* of Sunth. But this is not all; Kirpashankar is also the *batlidar* or an informant-spy of the State. The song adds how during the minority of Jorawar Singh, the State had destroyed the villages. Now, an official account published in 1922 states that Jorawar Singh succeeded Pratap Singh in 1896 and that he studied in the famous Rajkumar College at Rajkot (in Saurashtra) from 1898 to 1902. It adds that Kirparam Bhagwanji Vyas was the administrator. The State was being administered by the British during this trouble some period. The work

states that the famine situation together with the misrule which prevailed at that time had broken the backbone of the subjects.¹⁰ This was the background when the folk-song was composed. The folk-song tells us that the Bhil robbers attempted to bribe Kirparam *batlida*r with Rs. 50.00, for allowing them to sack Sunth. The plunderers seem to be offering the bribe, with a feeling of contempt.

This folk-song describes the valour of the Bhils, but ends pensively into their hope that their ruler undergoing his training at the Rajkumar College will, after all, forgive them. This song describes Bhil men and women in arms. They plunder in the midst of gun fires, but eventually five bandits including two women are shot dead on the ground. This leads others to retreat in a lightening flash. But some of them are caught and imprisoned. Now, the Bhils are waiting for the completion of Jorawarsingh's studies. The song ends in this way: "Jorawar Singh is our King. He will return from Rajkot after he completes his studies. We will bow down to him with salutes. After all, he is the King of hills. We are his subjects and he is our King. O, King, we happen to be your subjects and your servants, please salvage us".

What do the Bhil songs convey? Do they shed any additional light on the subaltern sensitivities? There is no dearth of the contemporary official accounts dealing with the Bhils. The folk-songs are partly a reflective literature and partly based on what actually happened. How could a historian study and use the folk-songs as his data? There is no easy answer to this question.

The study of the Bhil songs has helped me in one respect. It has enabled me to appreciate the different trends of their cultural life. This was very different from the life style of high-caste Hindus. The Bhils seem to have been individualistic, at the same time they had developed an identity as a group. And they felt it intensely. We find no intermediaries between them and their social order—no brahmins and no Hindu gods to give them a hierarchical status within or outside their fold. Their society is more permissive than the high-caste society. The girl would thus enjoy the extra-marital relations and ask her lover to enter her home. She would buy ornaments from a Vohra merchant and gesticulate in the streets. She might at the same time support the male-folk in their plundering activities. In this latter respect, the Bhils form a sharp contrast to the *adivasis* of South Gujarat who were meek and submissive. The Bhils with their Mangalio and Ruplo Kataro, Waghji, and Dalu Damor (in arms) appear to be more dignified than the tribals. The Bhil, in spite of his poverty, felt majestic about himself and his social world.

Footnotes

1. For details See Ranjit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies*, Vol. 1 : *Writings on South Asian History and Society* (Oxford, 1982); David Hardiman, *The Coming of the Devi : Adivasi Assertion in Western India* (Oxford, 1987).

2. Markand Mehta and Manu Mehta, *The Hind Rajasthan* (Bombay, 1896), pp. 418-22; 472-74; 621-25
3. Bombay Government, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency : Gujarat Population : Hindus*, Vol. 9, pt. 1 (Bombay, 1901), pp. 294-95
4. *Ibid.*, p. 302
5. *Ibid.*, p. 309
6. V. K. Vashistha, 'Political Mobilization of the Bhagat Bhils and their Role in the Freedom Struggle in the Former Princely State of Banswara'; G. N. Sharma (ed.), *Social and Political Awakening Among the Tribals of Rajasthan* (Jaipur, n.d.), pp. 44-50
7. For details See Renuka Pamacha, *Elite in a Tribal Society* (Jaipur, 1985); Also see *Report of the Administration of Dungarpur and Banswara States* for the years 1890-91 to 1912-13 (Jaipur, 1892-1915). Source : National Archives of India.
8. The following official source describes the kaders of the Bhil gangs as 'criminal tribes'. *Report of the Famine Commission in the Native States of Rajasthan* (Ajma, 1901). Source : National Archives of India.
9. For further discussion see Makrand Mehta, *Modern Indian History : Reflections on a New Direction*, Presidential Address, Modern India Section, Indian History Congress, 5-7, November 1987 (Goa); Makrand Mehta, *Gujarātnān Aitihāsik Saṁshodhanani Palaṭāṭi Jati kshitiyo : Samasyāo and Dishāo*, Presidential Address, Gujarat Itihas Parishad, 15th Conference, 25 November, 1988 (Calcutta).
10. Ladhakhai Parmar (ed.), *Rewakantha Directory*, Vol. II (Rajkot, 1922), pp. 40-41

(Contd. from p. 58)

4. *Ibid.*, p. 215
5. M. S. Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat*, Vol. I, p. 147
6. *Mirat-I-Ahmedi*, (Guj. ed.), part II, p. 22
7. *Ibid.*, (Eng. ed.), p. 21
8. M. S. Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 153
9. *Akbarnāmā*, p. 153
10. R. B. Jote, *Gujaratnuñ Pātnagar Amadāvād*, p. 239
11. *Ibid.*, p. 241
12. R. C. Parikh & H. G. Shastri, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 86
13. *Purātattva* (Guj.), Vol. II, part II, p. 201

Quit India Movement in Princely States of Saurashtra

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Saurashtra is a peninsula on the Western coast of India projecting into the waters of the Arabian Sea. It is known from times immemorial.¹ In ancient times it was known as “Surashtra”, “Sur rashtra” and “Saurashtrini”. In Mughal times it was referred as “Sorath” in *Akbarnama* and *Ain-I-Akbari* and as “Kathiawad” in Maratha and British Period. After independence once again it was renamed “Saurashtra”.

Immediately before 1947, Saurashtra comprised of 222 big and small states with varying degrees of power and autonomy. Out of these 222 states, 14 were salute states like Junagadh, Nawanagar, Bhavnagar, Dhrangadhra, Porbandar, Morvi, Gondal, Wankaner, Palitana, Limbdi, Rajkot etc., 17 non-salute states and 191 other small states exercising varying degree of jurisdiction.² Saurashtra had an area of 23,500 sq. miles and population of 36 lakhs.³ The principal ruling clans were Jhalas, Jethwas, Parmars, Gohels⁴ and Babis. The Baroda state also had its territories in Saurashtra. The Portuguese territory of Diu was also situated in this peninsula.

At the outset of the twentieth century national awakening was aroused among the people residing in British India but it was not possible in the princely states of Saurashtra, because these states were the centres of pomp, exploitation and treacherous plots.⁵ Most of these princely states did not allow any participation of the people in the government.⁶

Except some liberal states like Rajkot and Bhavnagar, in other states monopoly and tyranny were prevalent. As the rulers had the support of the sovereign power, the people had no voice.⁷ The rulers talked of being trustees of their people and yet wasted all money drawn from them in reckless extravagance without any sense of responsibility.⁸

The annual session of the Congress held in 1902 at Ahmedabad and in 1907 at Surat and the “Bangbhang Movement” and “Swadeshi Movement” had its impact on the people of the princely states of Saurashtra also. Though these people of the princely states of Saurashtra also. Though these people could not participate in national or revolutionary activities but they managed to get the literature arousing nationalism and read it secretly.

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The freedom struggle was born and nurtured mainly in British Indian territory but whenever it gained momentum in the provinces, neighbouring princely states were invariably affected and the agitation always found some echo howsoever faint, among the subjects of the princely states.⁹ Between 1917 and 1930 Gujarat was in the forefront of the Indian nationalist movement, partly because Gandhiji's base was in Ahmedabad city during these years.¹⁰

The Kathiawad Political Conference was established in 1920 to solve the problems of the people of the whole of Saurashtra. It marks the beginning of a new era in the political life of Saurashtra. It created new atmosphere in the conservative atmosphere of Saurashtra.¹¹ It had Viththalbhai Patel, Gandhiji, Thakkerbapa and Sardar Patel as its Presidents. It had organised the 'Kathiawad Vidyarthi Parishad' at Rajkot in 1921 under the presidentship of Acharya Kripalani¹² and 'Kathiawad Youth Conference' at Rajkot in 1929 under the presidentship of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.¹³ "Saurashtra" weekly was also started in 1921. It became the torch bearer of the demands of the people of the states. It played important part in educating states people and arousing them to fight against autocracy and injustice of the states.¹⁴ In 1927, All India States Peoples' Conference was established to vent the grievances of the states people. Balwantraji Mehta, Amrutlal Sheth, Manilal Kothari, Popatlal Chudgar, Amrutlal Thakker and Jamnadas Mehta of Saurashtra had played important role in its establishment.

By 1931 the people of states were trained in non-violent nationalist activities. Many volunteers and leaders from this region had participated in the Satyagraha held in British territory like Nagpur Flag Satyagraha, Bardoli Satyagraha, Dandi March and Salt Satyagrahas of Viramgam and Dholera. They had participated and won success in the Satyagrahas of Khakharechi (1929), Vanod and Dhrol (1931), while they had failed in the Satyagrahas of Morbi and Dhrangadhra (1931). But all these events created a spirit of confidence among the states people.

Gujarat came to the fore once again during the Quit India Movement of 1942.¹⁵ This was a memorable, dramatic and explosive movement. In this movement the people of princely states of Saurashtra also participated actively with enthusiasm implanted in them by the resolution regarding states peoples at the Congress Session of Haripura in 1938 in Surat District of Gujarat.

Before 1938 the Congress had adopted the policy of noninterference in the princely states. Though Jawaharlal Nehru believed that the extremist of autocracy prevailed in these states.¹⁶ Gandhi and Sardar Patel believed that their main enemy was the British and hence princes should not be attacked because, the source of their power was the support of the Raj. Moreover Congress could not afford to attack two enemies at a time.¹⁷ They argued that once India rid herself of British Rule, the Princes would surrender 'like apples falling from a tree when the trunk is shaken'.¹⁸ Moreover, Sardar Patel and other British Gujarat nationalist leaders believed

that the struggle would be more difficult in the Kathiawar States, where the congress was in most cases outlawed. States like Nawanagar, Junagadh or Gondal would not allow even public meetings or the distribution of Nationalist literature. They doubted the princely states people's capacity of fight and the sacrifice needed for sustaining the struggle.¹⁹ In few states like Rajkot, Bhavnagar, Vadhwani etc. Praja Mandal or Parishads (peoples' Associations or conferences) were started by the nationalists. The objective of the Praja Mandal was to create a public opinion in favour of the peoples participation in the Political life of the region.

The nationalist volunteers and leaders of Saurashtra had shown their worth by staging some Satyagrahas in Saurashtra and succeeding in them. They had participated in some of the important events of the nationalist movement in neighbouring British Gujarat also. Gandhiji and Sardar Patel were very much impressed by their work. But the passing of the resolution concerned with the Indian states at Haripura session of Congress in 1938 implanted a new enthusiasm in the freedom fighters of Saurashtra. The Draft of this resolution was the handiwork of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiyya at Navsari Convention of All India States Peoples Conference. It said that the objective of Congress of Complete independence applies to the whole of India including the states. Subhashchandra Bose in his presidential address spoke—"There are people in the Congress like myself who would like the Congress participating more actively in the movement of the states people. I personally hope that in the near future it will be possible for the I. N. C. to take a forward step and offer a helping hand to our fellowfighters in the states. Let us not forget, they need our sympathy and our help".²⁰ Thus the Haripura Congress resolution encouraged the effort to achieve responsible government in the states. Thus the national movement gathered momentum in the princely states through their Praja Mandals also.

The Congress working Committee passed the resolution of "Quit India" on 8th Aug., 1942. Gandhiji considered this to be the last struggle to achieve independence. His message was "Do or die". Though before 2½ months on 24-5-1942 Gandhiji had said to the British "Leave India to God and that be too much, leave her to anarchy".²¹ This was the signal for Quit India Campaign. Before this last struggle could start on 9th August, the British Govt. arrested many important and Congress leaders late in night. Afterwards also many leaders and volunteers were arrested.

The news of the arrest of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders on 9-8-'42 had an immediate strong reaction. The people started non-violent demonstrations in the form of meetings, hartals and processions over nearly the whole of India.²² It has its reactions in the princely states of Saurashtra also. Important leaders were arrested from Bhavnagar, Rajkot, Vadhwani, Botad, Palitana, Porbandar, Wankaner, Morbi etc. Two important leaders of Saurashtra Shri U. N. Dhebar and Balwantrai Mehta were arrested at Wadhwan Junction while returning from Bombay and sent to Jail at Rajkot.²³

Perhaps the maximum participation in this movement was of Bhavnagar state. The leaders of Bhavnagar met at the residence of Thakkerbapa's younger brother Dr. Keshavlal Thakker and decided to give a strong fight. Shri Jagubhai Parikh was nominated as their leader. They met every evening in public meeting being held near Darbargadh. The house named 'Inklab' of Shri Vajubhai Shah was the main centre for the planning of the struggle. His younger brother Babubhai Shah was editing the cyclostyled patrika named "*Jang-e-Azadi*". In spite of the arrest of many leaders this patrika (Pamphlet) was regularly but secretly published and circulated. Many a times after public meetings or processions municipal public lights and the boards of the post office were damaged.²⁴ The students of Shamaldas College of Bhavnagar had taken a lead. They shouted slogans and picketed at the gate of the college. Prin. Sahani was a wise and popular principal. He handled the situation wisely. He did not allow the police officers to interfere. Instead he made water arrangement for the students. That's why this movement lasted long, but no damage was done to the college building by the students.²⁵

In public meetings the Raj was criticised strongly. One of the aims of this aims of this struggle was to jeopardize the war supply of the British Raj. When it came to be known that a tailor of Bhavnagar had received order to supply military uniform, the volunteers picketed at his shop and the tailor gave up the order. Similarly when the volunteers knew about the manufacture of important engineering goods at railway workshop situated at Gadhechi area of Bhavnagar, they picketed there under the leadership of Jagubhai Parikh on 30-8-42 but including him total 19 leaders were arrested under Defence of India Act. Similarly when news was given that a steamer loaded with weapons had anchored at Bhavnagar port, about 2000 men and women went to Port which was declared a protected place. The state police arrested many on the way and total 111 were arrested and others were freed on bail.²⁶ As it was difficult to accomodate all these, 19 who were arrested before a month were sent to Port Victor.²⁷

The women Volunteers of Bhavnagar were not lagging behind. Mrs. Kasturben, wife of Jorsang Kavi had lectured in the public meeting on 4-10-1942²⁸ while Durgaben Bhatt delivered a lecture at the Chowk of Ambaji's Banyan on 5-10-1942 which was attended by 400 persons. She spoke that our fight is not against the Maharaja or state of Bhavnagar but it is to drive out the British raj and to picket at the hoard of weapons. But if under the preasure of the British Agency, the princely state exercises tyrannical power on its subjects then our fight is against them also. The people will not tolerate it silently.²⁹

In Gadhada the students of the school had a procession on 10-8-1942. In the public meeting one student had sung a song "*Gandhi Tum Aaj Hindki Ek Shan Ban Gaye*"³⁰ On 15-8-42 a student of Shamaldas College Mr. Bhupatrai read a few paragraphs from a Patrika type book named "*Janta No Jang*" ("*War of the People*").³¹

Public Meetinga, processions and picketing were done at Vala, Botad, Mahuva, Talaja etc.³² Muslim volunteers namely Fakhruddin Pestanji (Gadhda), Khoja Rajabali Lakhani, Khatki Rahman Ladhani, Vazirali Lakhani of Bhavnagar staged demonstrations and were arrested.

Kathiawad Bhagini Samaj was established to make women politically conscious and create interest in them for the movement. The women workers organized Pad-yatras also to focus the attention of the women of the rural areas.³³ The women of Bhavnagar showed that they can compete with the male volunteers. One Miss Saroj Mehta participated in the demonstration held at Bhavnagar port where a ship loaded with weapons was anchored. The police started beating her with lathis but she stood like a mountain and challenged the police to beat her till they could. But ultimately the police felt ashamed and went away.³⁴

When all the important leaders were arrested, the leadership was provided by the women. Manekben, Nilaben, Jayaben Shah, Sarojben Mehta, Pramilaaben Shah etc. became the leaders one by one. They were sentenced to imprisonment of different tenure and cash fines. But they decided to oppose it. They went in a procession to give a memorandum to Maharanisheba of Bhavnagar. But they were stopped and asked to disperse. They did not and staged Dharna at her residence for the whole night. Next day the officers consented to send their memorandum to her. But even after that the processionists were not prepared to disperse. So the police had a lathicharge in which nine were injured.³⁵ After this incident the Dewan Anantrai Pattani had declared prohibitory orders on meetings, processions etc....

Though Rajkot was not a big state but it was of importance because it enjoyed the position of the capital of the states of Kathiawad.³⁶ and it was famous for its fine climate and commercial progress.³⁷ Moreover, Rajkot was the centre of the political activities of Saurashtra. After the arrest of U. N. Dhebar and Jethalal Joshi, Shri Jayantilal Maldhari, Odhavaji Ahya and Jaysukhbhai Shah provided leadership to the people of Rajkot and gave many programmes like hartals in the schools picketing near mill and factories and movements to stop supply being sent for war. Mr. Vajubhai M. Shukla and Ismail Hirani were the leftist leaders. They had little popular following and were without organized mass base. Still in the beginning they found common cause with the nationalists of Saurashtra. They called the second world war an 'imperialist war' but when Germano attacked Russia, they called it the peoples' war and changed their loyalty. They betrayed the nationalists and so they became unpopular.³⁸

Wadhwan was the H. Q. of Kathiawad Political Conference. The prominent leaders of this state were Rasiklal Parikh, Sardaben F. Shah, Chanchalben Dave, Swami Shivanand, Amrutlal sheth etc. There was considerable awakening among students and younger people. The leaders toured the whole state and inspired the

people and many of them were arrested.³⁹ The Bar Association of Wadhwan held a private meeting and in consultation with the local agitators decided to settle pending cases by compromise and settle all new civil suits by arbitration. Karimkhan of Vithalgarh Taluka also rendered much assistance in this movement.⁴⁰ Few of the younger leaders went underground and tried to sabotage the essential services in the state. They concentrated to destructive activities like removing of fish-plates of railways, cutting off telephone wires and bombarding bridges and culverts. One 18 year old boy Nandlal T. Shah had thrown a bomb on the railway bridge at Wadhwan.⁴¹ Similarly in Junagadh state, the Premier state of Saurashtra, Shri Kanak Desai had thrown burning pieces of cloth in an ordnance factory from an open window and the factory caught fire with an explosion.⁴² The railway police inspector of Rajkot had sent a telegram to the Manager of Bhavnagar State Railway on 26-11-42, "Sabotage expected between Dhola and Ningala to-night. Please make arrangement to watch bridges and culverts."⁴³

A goods train was derailed between Lakhtar and Bala Road station. But the sabotage of the mixed passenger train near Lalpur railway station was the most outstanding event in this movement. About 10 persons including underground workers Chandrashanker Bhatt, Gunvant Purohit and Jashwant Mehta, pulled the alarm chain in night of a mixed passenger train coming from Mehsana, the vacuum brake was nullified and insured parcels valued about Rs. 25,000-00 were snatched away from the postal van. This preplanned incident was complete within 20 minutes.⁴⁴ After these events Gunvantraai Purohit (25) and Jasubhai Mehta (20) went to Varanasi and joined Kashi Vidyapith for study. All the ten young agitators were of 18 to 25 years of age. These two young men had also threatened a postal carrier between Dhola and Umraja in Bhavnagar State and had snatched the postal bag from him.⁴⁵

The leaders of Amreli area under the Baroda state were also active in this movement. They toured the villages and arranged for Mashal procession, flag procession, Gram-kooch etc. Maganlal Koradia was encouraging people at Varsada and Mota Ankadia but he was arrested. Dr. Hariprasad had planned Gram-kooch of Jalia, Sanosara, Dholerava, Kamigadh etc. He was also arrested. These arrests and Kooch had spread a sense of national awakening in the rural people. The younger students formed "Vandar-Sena" (Monkey troops). Vandar Sena arranged gram-kooch and collected people and explained them about this movement. A public meeting was held on 15-10-42 at Amreli and many leaders like Jagubhai K. Sanghvi, G. P. Vyas, J. P. Gandhi were arrested under Defence of India rules. Pamphlets like *Azad Patrika* '*Kranti*' etc. were cyclostyled on the walls in night hours. Samarth Vyayam Mandir of Amreli was the centre of the nationalist workers. Its organiser was Keshavlal J. Joshi. On 17-1-43 the furniture of the High School was burnt. It was the day of Moharrum and police was busy with it. Chilly powder was

thrown in the eyes of the chawkidars of the schools and two policemen were also encuffed.⁴⁶

They prepared bombs also at Rambag in Dhari.⁴⁷ A letter with wet phosphorus was dropped in a Post Box and it resulted in the burning of the letters of that box. Shri Gunvantrai Purohit, Jashwant Mehta and Ratubhai Adani had cut telephone wires at Chalala and Dhari⁴⁸ and had fallen down 32 telephone polls also. Their slogan was "Azadi Leke Rahenge Ya Mareng".

In Porbandar State the fishermen known as the Kharvas played important role in this movement. Due to Praja Mandal and its activities this socially and economically backward community was awakened. They organised public meetings and demonstration opposing export of goods badly needed by the people of their state. The leaders were arrested and it provoked the common people. Digubha and Fatubha of Limbdi State were the brothers of the Rani of Porbandar. They were notorious for their atrocities on people of their state of Limbdi in 1939. They were invited here and they dealt with the situation with heavy hand. They employed the Mers who arrested not only Gandhian agitators but also the businessmen and middle class people. So the state lost the sympathy of the common people.

Thus we can say that in many princely states of Saurashtra, the Quit India Movement had taken place and a good number of people participated in it or sympathized with it. A number of public meetings were held with attendance varying from 50 to 2000 people. Strikes were observed by students and the educational institutions were picketed. Many of the picketers were arrested.⁴⁹ The majority of the active participants were of 15-40 age group. Most of them were pleaders, teachers, businessmen or peasants. Many of them were from Bania, Brahmin and Nagar families. Women also participated in this movement quite actively and proved their worth. A section of freedom fighters were the believers in violent means. Though there was an ideological difference of opinion about the Gandhian theory of non-violence. The activities like to cut telephone wires, to damage postal boxes, to remove fish plates of railway, to plunder trains and to loot postbags, had the support of Gandhiji. He held the British Raj responsible for this condition. The staunch supporter of non-violence and follower of Gandhiji's ideology, Mr. Kishorlal Mashruwala had also considered violent activities of sabotage as non-violent opposition. But there were nationalist leaders following two different and quite opposite to each other ideologies. Thus their means were different but the aim was common of getting independence. The nationalist workers could breathe with satisfaction that they were also with the main stream of the country and they were not isolated. For the first time the people of British India and Princely India had marched together with common programme to get freedom. Except the specified activities they had also done many constructive activities. The leaders and workers of the Princely Saurashtra made a name in social

and political history by their life long selfless sacrifice and it was appreciated by the national leaders like Gandhiji and Sardar Patel.

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Peasant's Assertion in Gujarat and Quit India Movement of 1942

Shirin Mehta*

The Quit India Movement was better organized in Gujarat than in other regions. Gujarat was the nerve centre and had become volatile cauldron. The movement was remarkable in a sense it surpassed all the previous movements. Congress led movements in its level of mass participation. The cross-section of the people participated. Large number of urban as well as rural-based peasants took part in the guerilla style of attack on Government property—the symbol of imperial and colonial regime. They uprooted the lines of communications, set on fire the police stations, removed rails and undertook sabotage activities on such a large scale that the Government could not suppress it. The movement was slow initially but once it got momentum, it lasted for months together.¹

Gujarat was divided into many territorial units. There were five districts (Ahmedabad, Broach, Kheda, Panch Mahals and Surat) under the Government of Bombay known as British territory, four districts (Amreli, Mehsana, Baroda and Navsari) under Baroda State and some large princely states such as Bhavnagar, Jamnagar, Junagadh and Kutch. The movement was strong only in the British territory and the Baroda State. This paper concentrates mainly on this area.

The agrarian society in Gujarat at that time was well classified and highly politicized. Each strata was conscious of its economic interest as well as was politically aware of its collective well-being. The lower segments of the agrarian structure upto 1930 furnished supportive system to higher rungs. But now they began to show their independent line of action, became self-assertive and active. They had their own autonomous world and independent nucleus of power. They were no longer the mute participants in the periphery.²

The ryotwari land tenure had made Gujarat the land of small landholder proprietors also called 'Khatedars' or occupants. The big landlords, however, were conspicuously absent. It was a three-tier agraristic society. The landholders or Khatedars were at apex constituting 35 per cent. The class of the tenants-sub-tenants was compressor class of 47 per cent always swelling its numbers. At the lowest segment there was a class of ever increasing labourers and bonded-serfs called 'Halis'—ploughmen.³

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Most of the cultivator-landholders and tenants belonged to the high castes of Patidars, Anavil Brahmins, Brahmins, Vaniyas, Rajputs, Parsis, Muslims, Sheikhs and Vohras. The lower sections belonged to the castes of Baraiyas, Patanvadiyas, Kolis, Ghanchies, Thakardas and bulk of tribal population called adivasis such as Bhils, Dublas, Dhondiyas, Gamits, Chodhras, Naikdas etc. Though agriculture provided livelihood at subsistence level but since, agriculture was a familial activity and immigration to South Africa, Mauritius, Burma was much common among high caste peasants, they were economically better. They equally enjoyed high social status. The socio-economic structures coincided with each other. The Bhakti movement—a kind of socio-religious reform movement spread during early decades of the twentieth century. Introduction of education and Gandhian constructive programme led awareness among lower strata. The members of the low caste experienced collective social consciousness during 1930 and the 40s.⁴

II

The nature and intensity of the peasants participation in 1942 movement was entirely in consonance with their identification with the prevalent ideologies and organizations. The Congress was the most pervading organization and deeply rooted. The hold of Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee GPCC was complete. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel were its sole leaders. It had led notable peasant movements like Kheda (1918), Bardoli (1920–28), Borsad and Ras (1922–23) as well as non-co-operation movement and Dandi March. It had created a band of local leaders, workers and volunteers and developed organizational network throughout Gujarat. The Congress became the forum of well to-do peasantry whose hit target was British Government due to its Draconian land revenue policy and land laws.⁵ After 1923, the Congress through Gandhian constructive programme and Ashram organizations did try to bring the tribal population within its fold but with little success.⁶

The other group which was important for the event of 1942 was the *Gujarat Vyāyām Prachārak Maṇḍal*. Its leader, Chhotubhai Purani, a Brahmin of Broach district (1885–1950) was a science graduate from the Bombay University, connected with nationalist-terrorist organizations in his young days. He was making bombs. Later on, he joined congress but had no faith in Gandhian technique of non violence. He, together with his younger brother Ambubhai and a friend Chandrashanker Bhatt, founded a net work of gymnasiums all over Gujarat.⁷ He gathered youths, gave them revolutionary methods of guerilla warfare, making of bombs and carrying of Sabotage activities. “Use your brain and body to combat British imperialism” was his lesson to his students. These boys mostly belonged to high castes of Brahmins, Patidars, Anavils, Rajputs and Vaniyas. Their parents who happened to be peasants had adopted Gandhian method to seek redressal of their grievances against the British Government. But the younger generation started taking revolutionary training during 1940s. To advocate revolutionary ideologies they published magazines entitled *Inquilab*.

and *Rājdroh*. Both Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel had no objection in their gymnastic activities. On the contrary, they found it supportive.⁸

Hence the rich and middle class peasants were aligned with Congress and Vyāyām Pracharak Organization.

The third group was the ginger group of socialists developed within the Congress. It was a group of enthusiastic youths of high castes. They were disillusioned by moderate reformist tactics of the rightwing. They founded Gujarat Socialist Party in 1933.⁹ The prominent among them were Indulal Yagnik (1892–1972), a nagar Brahmin from Nadiad and a doyen of Home Rule League movement in 1916 in Gujarat; Dinkar Mehta (1907–88), Anavil Brahmin from Surat belonging to teaching profession; Jayanti Thakore (1913–1981), Brahmakshatriya from Ahmedabad, popularly known as *Shaher Suba*—the head of the city; Amritlal Sheth, Bombay-based Vaniya providing financial support to all these activities. They started a journal *Navī Duniyā* which became a powerful organ to propagate socialist ideology. They were in link with leading socialists like Achyut Patwardhan of Maharashtra; Sahajanand Saraswati, a peasant leader from Bihar; and Professor N. J. Ranga, a pioneer labour leader of Andhra. They incurred displeasure of Vallabhbhai Patel and hard core congressmen.¹⁰

Indulal Yagnik, on his return from Europe in 1930 [founded *Kisān Sabhā* almost on the line of *Kisān Sabhā*, the parent organization in U.P. Soon he [secured the support of the leftists like Dr. Sumant Mehta of Baroda and Kakalbhai Kothari of Kathiawar. *Kisān Sabhā* provided a platform to the downtrodden peasantry. The Rabaris and Thakardas, the shepherd community of north Gujarat; the Baraiyas, Patanwadias, Kolis and Bhils of central Gujarat and bulk of Adivasis of South Gujarat came under its sway. To ventilate their grievances Yagnik started in 1934 *Khedūt Patrikā*. It championed their demands for lower rent, lands to the tillers, abolition of Jamindari, and end of forced labour. They justified violence against exploiters.¹¹

On the eve of the general election in 1937, *Kisān Sabhā* became very active. It prepared Peasant manifesto asking for radical change and new agrarian policy favourable to poor peasants. The abolition of Jamindari, end of forced labour, eradication of land debts, only one fourth of landrevenue out of total produce constituted the main plank in the manifesto.¹²

Congress secured all 19 general seats and 3 out of 5 special seats in Gujarat. It was a landslide victory. *Kisān Sabhā* expected congress to fulfill their demands but much to their dismay. Once again Congress proved to be the organization of the rich peasantry. It incorporated minimum demands of *Kisān* manifesto viz.; reduction in revenue and rent, end of forced labour, recognition of peasant unions etc.¹³

Out of this Welter, Kisan Sabha came out as a rival organization to Congress in Gujarat. In the teeth of great dissatisfaction caused by the Congress, the downtroddens turned rebellious and prepared for a class war. Sahajanand Saraswati, Professor Ranga and Indulal Yagnik threatened class conflict. In April, 1938, Khedūt Sangh was founded under the presidentship of Indulal Yagnik to give action-oriented programme to lower cadres. The actual uprising took place in Panch Mahals in central Gujarat against crop-sharing system.¹⁴

The Congress session was to be convened at Haripura village in the Surat district in 1938. Khedūt Sangh brought various territorial units under one umbrella, organized demonstration to be made at Haripura. D. M. Pangarkor a notable Kisan leader of Maharashtra, Nanubhai Desai, a prominent social leader, Nanubhai Naik a teacher, both belonged to Surat and of Anavil caste, Vanibhai Patel of Anand took leadership. Some 10,000 peasants shouting slogans against Jamindari, Hali system and share-cropping system encamped near the Haripura Congress Campus.¹⁵ They sang songs. One tribal Ramjibhai Chodhri sang the following song,¹⁶

‘unfurl the flag of Peasants’ liberation
We will bury imperialism and destroy capitalism
We will install workers’ and Peasants’ Raj’

Another song written by Narsinhbhai Akabhau in tribal dialect was loudly sung :

‘Kisan Sabha me Avajara, Kaine Kaiy Huja
Shahukar Ounder foli Khadha, Kisan Sabha
Manjara Padhkara’.¹⁷

This song meant that it was better to attend the Kisan Sabhā. We learn a lot from it. The money lenders in the form of rat had husked us until now, but the Kisan Sabhā has appeared in the garb of a cat to frighten the mouse and rescue us.

Vallabhbhai reacted sharply and criticised severely the leaders of Kisan Sabhā. He metaphorically said in anger, “Kisan Sabhā tries to throw bones in the honey-fire-Yagna”.¹⁸

In the wake of 1942 movement the poor peasants had become militant. They were ready to enter into class conflict on the spur of the opportune time.

III

The situation was explosive during the war years. The people were waging the war of nerves. In 1942, there was a widespread rumour that the British collapse was imminent. The entry of Japan into the war in December 1941 dramatically changed the situation. The people feared attack of Japan in India through east and west coasts. The industrialists, merchants and businessmen were afraid of scorch earth policy followed by the British at the time of evacuation as they did in South-east Asia.¹⁹

The atmosphere was charged with fear, uncertainty and distrust. The Congress considered it readily ripe for mass upsurge. It was believed the British would hand over authority. The Congress geared up its machinery.

Vallabhbhai Patel travelled far and wide in Gujarat during the months of June and July, 1942. He wanted to make Gujarat the epicentre of the ensuing movement. He organised public meetings, met cross sections of people, activated organizations, asked Industrialists, merchants, workers, peasants, leaders, volunteers to be ready to strike. On 2 July, 1942 at Surat he said,²⁰ "This will not be along struggle. It must produce quick results. We must get independence before the Japanese come here. On another occasion he stated, "Do not wait for any programme. This is the last battle of our life, invent your own programme. There is no time for jail going". On 25 July, 1942, he called Provincial Congress Committee meeting, while explaining the situation, he said pointblank,²¹ "It would not stop even if there was civil war or anarchy. The Congress would not interfere if some people lost their temper and took drastic steps against the Government during the struggle."

He added, "Incidents like Chauri Chora would not deter Congress." He covertly and overtly approved violence.

He went to Bombay to prepare for AICC meeting where the famous quit India resolution was passed on 8 August 1942. During the meeting he asked some of his lieutenants to have the scene soon so that they could escape arrest and carry underground movement. Chhotubhai Purani, Chandrashanker Bhatt ardent gymnasts left in disguise.²²

The news of the arrest of Gandhi, Vallabhbhai and all rank and file leaders of the Congress spread like wide fire. The people became furious. The 1942 movement surpassed in its level of anti-British sentiments. The mill workers downed their tools, the students left their schools and colleges, the merchants downed the shutters, the business came to a virtual halt. The cities of Gujarat were the centres of agitation. It began to spread in rural areas also.

Kishorlal Mashruwala, a staunch Gandhian wrote in September, 1942 an article in *Harijan Bandhu* under the heading, "Do not talk, quickly act". He explained in detail that violence without endangering any one's life could not be called violence in true sense. All the sabotage activities in the last battle for freedom was justifiable". Kaka Kalelkar a notable Gandhian openly supported Mashruwala.²³

In the Surat district which had the history of support to congress, the urban and rural based Patidars, Anavil Brahmins, Vaniya peasants issued a Patrika toeing the line of action showed by staunch Gandhians which stated :

"Everywhere in the world the people struggling for freedom had to take recourse to violence. Indians have, however, forefitted this, right because of the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. But to dismantle railway tracks, to dislodge lines of communication,

to sack police stations and post offices should not be considered acts of violence. The symbols of tyrannical rule must be 'smashed'.²⁴

The movement in the month of August which started with hartals, strikes, demonstration and processions began to be violent by October 1942. The districts of Mehsana and Ahmedabad in north Gujarat, Kheda, Broach and Baroda state in Central Gujarat, Surat, Valsad, Jalalpore taluko in South Gujarat were the strongholds of the movement. It lasted for eight months upto March 1943. The rich and middle class peasant youths, urban well as rural based carried out the sabotage activities alongwith students.²⁵

The landholder Khatedars wholeheartedly supported the Quit India movement because the no revenue campaign was not the main plank of 1942 movement. The Congress did not insist it also since land-revenue collection was to fall in the month of December and January. The peasants had suffered a lot in 1920s and 30s because of no tax campaign. They had lost their lands. In 1942, the government was equally not desirous of land confiscation knowing that Congress ministry would return them. In Gujarat the high caste peasants played significant role in alliance with Congress in 1942 which gave effective blow to the British authority.²⁶

There was regional variation in the class support to the movement. The lower peasantry barring few instances did not join the higher rungs. The movement took a different turn for lower sections. It resulted into a class war. They attacked their well entrenched exploitative machinery set by Government officials, Patidar, Anavil, Vaniya landholders and moneylenders and Parsi-liquor sellers.

In north Gujarat in the Mehsana district of Baroda state the Rabaris and Shakardas condemned the decision of Praja Mandal supporting Quit India movement. They passed resolution in favour of their ruler Haikwar who was pro-British.²⁷

In central Gujarat in the Kheda district the low caste Baraiyas and Patanwadias completely showed independent nuclue of their power. They were sore of Congress policy. At the time of Civil Disobedience movement the confiscated lands of Patidars and Anavils were purchased by the Baraiyas and Patanwadias at throw-way prices from the Government. When the Congress framed the ministry in 1938, the lands were returned to the original holders by law. As a result they formed a Kshatriya Association claiming high Kshatriya status as a rival to Patidar dominated Kheda district Congress. They also linked with Kisan Sabha and remained aloof from the participation in the 1942 movement.²⁸

In South Gujarat, in the predominantly Adivasi dominated talukas of Mahuva, Valod, Vyara, Songadh and Mandvi some adivasis under the influence of Kisan Sabha attacked Government officers Patels the village head men, looted Vaniya the moneylenders and Parsi-liquor sellers' shops, burned their records hoping to be free from debts.²⁹

In Panch Mahals the rural violence reached its pitch high. The tribals under dacoit Bhimsinh Parmar became rowdy and lawless and turned against the local usurers.³⁰

The subalterns showed the autonomy. They took the advantage of the unruly situation in 1942 to settle their accounts with high caste peasantry. The interlocking of high caste peasants with the Congress made them important broker to reap political benefits which accrued later on. The Congress was thus obliged to dilute its policy and to turn towards poor peasants.

Footnotes

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Jawaharlal Nehru and Socialism *

Jaykumar R. Shukla +

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has confessed in his 'Auto-biography' that by no means he was a pioneer in the Socialist field in India. He was rather backward and had only advanced painfully, step-by-step, where many others had gone ahead. Though there was nothing by birth, upbringing and association to prompt Nehru to accept the Socialist creed, he became a pioneer of Socialist ideas in India, made Socialism a respectable creed with the middle-class nationalist intelligentsia, and led the Congress Party towards accepting Socialism as its aim.

According to Dr. Ganesh Prasad, 'Nehru was no convert to Socialism, he never became a full-fledged Socialist or a member of a Socialist organization. All his life he remained an active member of the Indian National Congress. He was a colonial patriot with bourgeois upbringing and with humanist-liberal scientific training. But, curiously enough, it was his ardent patriotism that made him advance towards acceptance of some principles of Socialism'.¹

During his college days in England, at Cambridge he attended lectures of progressive intellectuals like George Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, and J. M. Keynes. As a result, he developed certain Socialistic ideas—partly Fabian Socialism, partly some slightly more aggressive Socialistic ideas. That was all very academic.²

After coming back to India, Nehru visited some villages in Pratapgarh, in June 1920, in the hottest season of the year, for three days. About two hundred peasants had marched fifty miles from the interior of Pratapgarh district to Allahabad city to ask the urban leaders to do something for their betterment. They had narrated their tales of woe and requested Nehru to visit their villages. Nehru visited their villages with his colleagues. He saw peasants in their scores of thousands on the banks of the Ganges during big melas. But it was only during this visit that he saw their life, misery, their crushing poverty. The whole visit stirred his whole being. The three days were crucial in his career. Nehru described the plight of the poor peasantry, which is a master piece of humanistic literature.

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The awareness of rural India became an inalienable part of Nehru's being. For the first time he realized what the peasants were and what they meant to India. 'This realization came to me during these Pratapgarh visits and ever since my mental picture of India always contains this naked, hungry mass. Perhaps there was some kind of electricity in the air, perhaps I was in a receptive frame of mind and the pictures I saw and the impressions I gathered were indelibly impressed on my mind'.³

Nehru was 'filled with shame and sorrow' of a bourgeois and not with anger and hatred of a revolutionary leftist. The first step of Nehru's advance towards Socialism was marked by academic interest, the second one was characterised by actual observation of the problems which Socialism aims at solving.

The next important step towards Socialism was taken with his visit to Europe in 1926-27. The visit helped shape his outlook as a social scientist. In England, Nehru visited Derbyshire after the historic general strike of 1926. There, he learnt an important lesson of class justice. One reads often about class justice, and in India nothing is commoner than this but somehow I had not expected to come across such a flagrant example of it in England. It came as a Shock'.⁴

The second lesson was about the condition of the working class in imperialist Britain. The general atmosphere of fear among the workers after the general strike surprised him. The miners had been terrorised by the authorities. That picture of the British miners stayed with Nehru forever, almost as fresh and vivid as that of the Pratapgarh peasants. The sight of the terrorised, helpless, starved and pitiful miners did more than touch his humanistic sensitivity. He learned that exploitation knew no barriers of land, race and colour, that the poor were everywhere the victims of the monstrous Capitalist system. The Derbyshire visit was thus an important step away from parochialism towards Socialism.

Another notable event, was his participation in the Congress of oppressed Nationalities at Brussels in February, 1927. He attended it as a representative of the Indian National Congress. There he came in contact with several stalwarts of European Socialist movements and representatives of national organizations of many Asian and African countries. The Brussels Congress was an important factor in the evolution of his thought and in his progress towards Socialism, and had a profoundly radical impact on Nehru's thought.

For the first time in his career Nehru came into contact with the communists, during the Brussels Congress. The next important event was his short visit to the Soviet Union for only three to four days, on the eve of its tenth anniversary in November 1927. Many intellectuals and sensitive souls were deeply impressed with the Russian Revolution, and much more with the Soviet experiment for re-organization of the economic foundations of Society in order to secure the welfare of the masses and elimination of all forms of exploitation. Within a year of Nehru's return to India, he wrote sixteen articles on the Soviet Union, published as a book in 1929.

The Lahore Congress was the culmination of the third stage of Nehru's advance towards Socialism. Vagueness, utopianism and romanticism of the early stages were replaced by a definite outlook and the purely academic interest was replaced by concrete and practical thinking. But without the experience of Pratapgarh villages the meaning of class justice at Derbyshire could not have been comprehended.

Nehru Propagates Socialism :

On his return from Europe in 1927, Nehru began to give a new orientation to Congress policy. According to Acharya Narendra Deo, 'He was a Tilakite in his student days and was a staunch nationalist. But his socialist outlook now, made him see things in a new light.'⁵ Marxism had given him a scientific method of studying concrete problems. The immediate effect of the Brussels conference was that when Nehru came back to India, he attended the annual session of Madras Congress in December 1927, and he moved the resolution on the political independence which was adopted by a thumping majority. Since then as general secretary of the party and the mouthpiece of progressive ideas, he established his position as the peoples' spokesman. In December 1928, he presided over the first All-India Socialist youth Congress at Calcutta. He had also been chairman of the All Bengal Student Conference at Calcutta in the same year. He was also elected President of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Besides, he attended and addressed a good number of youth gatherings throughout the year. So he was welcome alike among the fellow nationalists, the peasants, the youth and the workers.⁶ In all his speeches there was the desirability of understanding the international situation and the various forces affecting it.

Nehru's utterances during 1928-29 were characterised by optimism and over-enthusiasm. In the Presidential Address at the Lahore Congress in December 1929, he said that the triumph of Socialism in the world was near at hand. He was critical of everything that did not fall in line with his Socialist predilections. Nehru proclaimed from the housetop that he was a Socialist and a republican. In the Lahore Presidential Address he said : 'I must frankly confess that I am no believer in kings and princes or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even kings of old and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy.'⁷

The Derbyshire experience, the Brussels Congress, the Soviet visit, the study of Marxism and above all, the knowledge of imperialist rule in India made him move towards Socialism.

Congress and Socialism :

Nehru continued his Socialist propaganda and at his instance the U. P. Congress Committee passed a resolution recommending a Socialist programme of action to the

Jawaharlal Nehru and Socialism]

A.I.C.C. The A.I.C.C. which met at Bombay on 25 May, 1929 did not desire to commit the detailed programme but accepted the preamble.⁸ This was the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress that a Socialist transformation of society was accepted.

The Congress met for its annual session at Karachi at the end of March, 1931. There, Nehru convinced Gandhiji to pass a resolution on economic matters. It was only a short step towards Socialism. Its preamble stated, "In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions."⁹ The resolution thereafter listed a number of fundamental rights and other items which any future constitution of India should provide.

From 1930 to 1935 the Socialist ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru were in full bloom. In an essay 'Whither India ?' he accepted Marxist analysis of the historical process, but did not give up the liberal value of freedom. The essay attracted wide interest and considerable criticism also. To the rising Socialist group in the Congress it marked Nehru out as the leader of Socialist thought. He was strongly attracted to communism and was greatly impressed by the Russian experiment. This was stated by him in a letter he wrote which appeared in the 'Manchester Guardian' on 15 December, 1933.¹⁰

Nehru presided over the Lucknow Congress in 1936. Expressing his views from the presidential chair in the Lucknow Session in April, 1936, Nehru said "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problem and of India's problem lies in Socialism.....Socialism is thus for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favour; it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart. I should like the Congress to become a Socialist organization."¹¹

The commitment of Nehru to the growth of Socialism may again be observed in his work as the chairman of the National Planning Committee; appointed by the President of the Indian National Congress in 1938. Nehru Succeeded in recommending the national plannings on the Socialistic lines though he failed to recommend for the abolition of private sector and confiscation of the private ownership. His recommendations revealed that he was thinking on a Socialistic line with democratic processes and had a very soft corner in his heart for the poor.¹²

The conservative group in the Congress did not like his preaching Socialism, as the Congress had not accepted Socialism as a policy. Eventhough he continued to preach Socialism according to his beliefs. Congress leaders like Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Rajgopalachari were as critical of Jawaharlal's Socialism as the businessmen themselves.¹³

The Election Manifesto by the AICC at Bombay in August 1936 recalled the Fundamental Rights resolution of the Karachi Congress, the emphasis placed at the Lucknow Congress on 'the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the

peasantry.' It made no specific mention of Socialism. The Socialist members were, however, pleased with the Manifesto and Acharya Narendra Dev commended it to the AICC as revolutionary and not a reformist document. So were C. Rajgopalachari and Vallabhbhai Patel.

Post-Independence Era :

In January, 1950, Nehru moved the historic objective Resolution in the Constituent Assembly. Speaking on the Resolution he stated that the Indian Constitution shall guarantee and secure to "all the people of India justice; social, economic, and political; equality of status and of opportunity before the law; freedom of thought, expression, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality....." More categorically, he added, "Well, I stand for Socialism and I hope India will stand for Socialism and that India will go towards the constitution of a Socialist state and I do believe the whole world will have to go that way."¹⁴

Nehru desired that his blue print of Socialism had to be adapted to suit Indian conditions. It was a novel experiment of Socialism with the system of democracy based upon non-violent means. Nehru wanted economic changes through democratic methods. He was equally interested in planned development of the country. The doctrine of nationalization was accepted but it had to follow the path of a smooth switch-over. It was the doctrine of 'Mixed Economy' which according to him was the best suited to the Indian conditions as the crucial problem for India was production which could be regulated even without complete nationalization.¹⁵

Nehru had very much fascination for planning and Socialism. He was not ready to accept development at the cost of social justice. He did not want any "doctrinaire form of Socialism." In achieving his objective Nehru accorded primary position to planning. He wanted that India must be industrialised as rapidly as possible. He emphasised the necessity of cottage industries also to employ hundreds of millions of people. For agriculture Nehru attached great importance to land reforms. In October 1951, he expressed regret at the delay in the abolition of zamindari on account of constitutional difficulties.¹⁶ In a broadcast to the nation on 31 December, 1952, he said, "we must eliminate all intermediaries and fix a limit for the size of the holdings. We hope that the next step will be cooperative farming which will take advantage of the latest agricultural techniques. Greater production is essential both in agriculture and industry, if we are to fight poverty and raise standards, as we must."¹⁷

After the death of Gandhiji and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, there was no leader who could boldly oppose the socialist ideas of Nehru. Nehru was the most popular leader then. He had emerged as the unrivalled chief of the party as well as its principal spokesman. The victory of the congress in the first general election of India, was a one man show. The position of Nehru was strengthened after the election.

Socialistic Pattern of Society :

The next event of importance was the adoption by Lok Sabha in December, 1954 of a resolution declaring that the object of the country's economic policy should be socialistic pattern of society. The Lok Sabha resolution was followed in January, 1955 by a similar resolution on the socialistic pattern of society at the Avadi session of the Congress. But the term "Socialistic pattern" was not defined. The nearest definition of the term came in the second Five year plan which stated : "Essentially this (Socialistic Pattern of society) means that the basic criterion for determining the line of advance must not be private profit but social gain, and that the pattern of development and the structure of socio-economic relations should be so planned that they result not only in appreciable increases in the national income and employment, but also in greater equality in incomes and wealth."¹⁸

The results of the Second General Elections in the spring of 1957, proved that the people endorsed the socialistic pattern of society. He introduced the idea of cooperative farming at the Nagpur Congress in 1959. Unfortunately the opposition of vested interests frustrated the measure of cooperative farming. In fact, it was not started and argued that it was not suited to India. The benefits of the two Five year Plans did not percolate sufficiently to the poorest strata of society. The cities had profited as compared to agricultural regions. Agricultural labour had deteriorated in its position. Even the earnings of factory labour had not made any significant progress in 1959 as compared to 1951. Only the trader and the industrialist appeared to have done well.¹⁹

The last Congress which Nehru attended was the one at Bhubaneshwar in January, 1964. Emphasis was placed once again on the cooperative form of organisation in agriculture. The Congress also showed awareness of the monopolist tendencies in the industrial sphere, and the growing disparity in income distribution generally.

Seventeen years of Nehru's era :

The five year Plans during Nehru's leadership were by no means unimpressive. The net national output had risen between 1948-49 and 1961-62 by 47.1 percent, and the per capita income during the period by 18 per cent. The process of modernisation was set in. It was Nehru who introduced the concept of planning for economic development of the country. He laid the foundation for orderly development of science and technology also.

In spite of the undoubted achievements in several spheres, progress towards a socialist transformation of society was not only tardy but was hardly discernible. Income distribution showed no less disparity than before, after years of socialist endeavour, concentration in industries increased. The agrarian economy in fact showed

signs of capitalist rather than cooperative development. According to the Mahalanobis Committee, in 1955-56 approximately 72 per cent of the population had an income lower than the average per capita annual income (Rs. 225). An analysis of the income distribution reveals that, the top 10 per cent of the population accounted for as much as 34 per cent income, the top 5 per cent for 23 per cent and the top 1 per cent for as much as 11 per cent of income in 1955-56; while the bottom 25 per cent of the population shared under 10 percent of the income.²⁰

Evaluation of Nehru's Socialism :

Discussing the contribution of Nehru's socialism, R. C. Dutt states that the three basic ingredient of socialism were (i) recognition of the existence of class conflict, (ii) belief in Social ownership of the means of production, and (iii) acceptance of the goal of a classless society.²¹ Regarding recognition of the existence of class conflict, there is no doubt that till the end of his days he accepted the existence of classes, and the fact that the interests of the classes clashed. Speaking to R. K. Karanjia in an interview Nehru said, "class struggle is always there. One can not deny it or put it aside. But the solution need no longer be one of violence or struggle or hatred : and that's where Gandhiji's peaceful approach, friendly and constructive approach comes in....."²²

The second criterion is belief in social ownership of the means of production. The type of economy which Nehru created in India is known as the Mixed Economy in which private ownership plays an important role. Nehru justified this role at the initial stages as transitional phenomenon. Later, however, he felt that mixed economy was inevitable in a democracy, but all through it was his firm belief that the public sector should set the tone of the economy by occupying its commanding heights. But in India, the private sector continued to dominate the economy.

The third criterion is the goal of a classless society. The socialists share this objective with the democrats. Nehru believed in the existence of class struggle. For him, democratic equality was only possible in a classless society.

Nehru disliked any form of dogmatism. He liked Marxism because it gave a scientific explanation of the historical processes. but criticised the Communists. He believed in human values, in the dignity of the individual, and, therefore, in civil liberty. These made him a democrat. This approach to socialism from the humanistic, liberal point of view made Nehru's socialism more progressive than the socialism professed by Social Democrats all over the world.

After more than four decades of independence India has still not become a Socialist country. Indeed, the capitalist forces have proved stronger than those of Socialism. Why did this happen ? As Nehru had told R. K. Karanjia, the Congress and Country would go as far towards Socialism as he was prepared to lead them,

but this required not only leadership but an organisation. It was in the latter respect that Nehru had failed. He did not create the supporting Socialist organization. So the response of the people could not assume any solid, organised shape.

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National Consciousness and Its Literary Expression : The Case of Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai

R. L. Raval*

Nationalist movement under the leadership of Gandhi generated new momentum in Gujarat. Gandhi's novel approach to tackle the socio-political and economic problems of India based on non-violence had fired the imagination of new generation in the twenties and thirties. A few Gujarati poets and fiction writers captured the spirit of his message through their poems and novels. This paper is an attempt to understand the spirit of nationalism as it was reflected in some of the novels of Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai, a noted Gujarati writer of the Gandhian era.

Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai (1892-1954), a Nagar by caste, held the M. A. degree from the Bombay University (1916). His father, Vasantlal, hailing from Kalol, a town in the Panch Mahal district, was an editor of a monthly, *Deshbhakta*, in the city of Baroda. He was agnostic. Ramanlal's mother, Maniben, was an orthodox Vaishnav lady. Ramanlal inherited some of the traits from his parents. His ambition was to become a college teacher. But on account of his failure to get a class he had to join the service of the Baroda state. He worked in different capacities in the government departments. He extensively toured the villages coming under his jurisdiction, and thus gained the first-hand knowledge about the problems of the rural life. Most unassuming and highly cultured Ramanlal was associated with the cultural and literary activities of Gujarat. He authored about seventy-seven works including forty-two novels and short-stories.

11

It is with this background that we propose to discuss the contribution of Ramanlal's three novels, namely, *Divya Chakshu* (1932), *Grām Laxmi* (in four parts, published in 1933, 1934, 1935 and 1937 respectively) and *Bhārelo Agni* (1935), in generating and popularizing the ideas of national consciousness in Gujarat. These novels also reflect his own ideas about the Gandhian phase of the Indian freedom struggle.

The central characters of his two novels, *Divya Chakshu* and *Grām Laxmi*, are cast in the image of the Gandhian workers who after getting university education

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give up their ambition of power, position and comforts of the urban life in favour of the services of the rural masses. The main character of *Bhārelo Agni* is cast in the image of Gandhi himself. Through Arun, the hero of *Divya-Chakshu*, and Ashwin, the hero of *Grām Laxmi*, Ramanlal has developed his plots in such a way that both the heroes pass through the agonies created out of their own self-image and the actual reality of the socio-political life that they encounter. Thus, Ramanlal has shown Arun (*Divya Chakshu*) and Ashwin (*Grām Laxmi*) struggling simultaneously for the double revolution, political and cultural, without separating one from the other. The author has vividly depicted the encounter between the heroes and the other characters in which the cleansing of filth and cleansing of soul go together. The journey towards the self-discovery, in the case of Arun (*Divya Chakshu*) in the setting of the city life, and in the case of Ashwin (*Grām Laxmi*) in the background of the village life, reflects the real experiences of many Gandhian workers who actually struggled to create an atmosphere for altering the cultural priorities to make the Indian mind uncolonized.

In all these three novels including *Bhārelo Agni*, the author's main focus is on non-violence and truth. In the case of Arun (*Divya Chakshu*) the author presents him as a revolutionary communist who dreams of getting rid of the foreign rule as well as the capitalist economic structure through the violent means. But the author develops a situation wherein Arun gradually prepares himself to be capable of eschewing violence. In the case of Ashwin (*Grām Laxmi*), the author gives him a jolt by getting him rejected for the post of an engineer in the government department, which he cherished the most albeit with an intention to work for the good of the people. This rejection of job creates a trauma in his psyche. He returns to his village. His attempt to commit suicide gives him a new insight. He decides to live in the village, and wants to make it self-reliant and beautiful by adopting the constructive programme of Gandhi. Ashwin tests his patience to get rid of the anguishes, narrow outlook and ignorance of the villagers. Thereby he develops the capacity to absorb shocks and humiliations. He gradually sacrifices his self-image of an educated engineer to identify himself totally with the village life.

In the case of *Bhārelo Agni* the setting of the plot centres round the events of the upheaval of 1857. Though the theme of the novel becomes anachronistic, the author wants to trace the ideal of non-violence, which according to him is the back-bone of the Indian cultural tradition, in the events of 1857. This enables him to link it with the Gandhian era.

Rudradatta, a Gujarati Brahmin and the hero of *Bhārelo Agni*, being cast in the image of Gandhi, is depicted as a paragon of the virtue of non-violence. Rudradatta's past is associated with the Mughal and Maratha rulers. As a renowned warrior he tries to help the Indian rulers to drive the British out of India. However, he gets frustrated as most of the rulers are weak, selfish and flatters of the British. They indulge in vices, and have no vision of the political future of India. But it is only

after the death of his own son in one of the battles that he realizes the futility of violence and taking of revenge. He is convinced that no problem can be solved by violence and hatred. He renounces violence and destroys his arms and ammunitions, and as a completely changed person lives incognito in the village, Vihar, on the border of Gujarat. He runs a Sanskrit Pathashala, and is known as the renowned scholar of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy. He even changes the heart of Johnson, an English priest who actually was supposed to keep a watch on his activities on behalf of the British government. But Rudradatta's disarming love completely changes him and his family. Even Johnson's daughter, Lucy, becomes Laxmi to Rudradatta. This reminds us the intimate relations that Gandhi developed with Rev. Andrews, and his affection for Miss Slade, known as Miraben.

It seems that the author has juxtaposed two opposite trends of the freedom struggle, one associated with the violent method used by the Indian revolutionaries like Savarkar, Khudiram Bose, Bhagatsingh etc., and the other, with Gandhian approach. The author has presented a strong character of Gautam, a disciple of Rudradatta, who once a loyal soldier of the British army, becomes an arch enemy of the Raj for its policy of racial superiority and exploitation of the people. He takes vow to drive the British out of India. He is shown as a prominent leader of the rebels. Gautam is in deep love with Kalyani, the grand-daughter of Rudradatta. The author has shown many historical characters including Mangal Pande, Tatyasaheb, Rani Laxmibai etc., seeking Rudradatta's help to guide the revolt. But Rudradatta disappoints them all. On the contrary he persuades them to desist from violence. He exhorts them to prepare the people to earn their genuine freedom by establishing the truly representative government in India. Thus, the author wants to justify the Gandhian approach, not only for the Indian nation but also for the world peace.

III

Ramanlal gives a lucid exposition to the inner dynamics operating for the development of the plots, at an urban level and at village level in *Divya Chakshu* and *Grām Laxmi* respectively. In each case hero is shown in encounter with a strong character, the product of the circumstances.

In *Divya Chakshu*, the character of Dhana Bhagat represents the lowest of the lowly class. Dhana Bhagat, a blind untouchable, though despised by the caste Hindus, is shown as maintaining the equanimity of his mind. Apparently, he seems to have resigned to his fate, but actually he maintains the autonomy of his mind. He represents a voice of dissent though in mute form but altogether of different dimension. His own life-approach gives him the strength of an assured aloofness. The hero, Arun, so far has acquired strength for his mission out of hatred that he has nursed against the exploiting authorities, both, the political and the social. But he gradually discovers through Dhana Bhagat the real strength of India. Arun realizes that the social vio-

lence does not hurt Dhana Bhagat but on the contrary, he himself is hurt by such forces. And he wants to resolve this dichotomy through the violent means, though he has taken a vow to abjure violence at least for one year. He feels that Dhano Bhagat has acquired freedom of quite different qualities, which he hasn't. He has become a prisoner of his own intellect. The words of Dhana Bhagat's *bhajan*, "*Tuja Saṅga Koi Vaishṇava Thayo, To Tūñ Vaishnav Sācho !*"

Tārā Saṅgano Raṅga nā Lāge, Tyāñ Lagī Tūñ Kācho !"

are ringing in his ears, Dhana Bhagat indirectly makes him aware of his weakness that he has not so far resolve his doubts. Thus, the author has stirred Arun's heart by creating doubt about the efficacy of violent means.

The author creates a situation thereby he exposes Arun to test his patience. Janardan, a Gandhian worker, at whose Ashram near the city, Arun has decided to stay in order to experience the working of the Gandhian method, takes procession to defy the government order to hoist a white flag of peace in the heart of the city. Arun, as a secretary of the Ashram, is in the forefront. The author creates a mini-scene of the Dandi March. Dhana Bhagat also joins the procession. Arun watches Dhana Bhagat chiding the young processionists for their over zeal. Dhana Bhagat remarks, "*Satne Māte Maravāmāñ Moksh ja Chhe. Pañ Maravāno Moha na Hovo Joiye*". Liberation means to die for the truth; but one should not have even a craving for martyrdom. Dhana Bhagat, thus, expects from the Satyagrahis the real earnestness and humility, while attempting to unfurl the flag. Arun is mercilessly beaten by a white sergeant. He becomes unconscious, and is hospitalized along with Janardan and Kandarp, a son of a police officer, however he maintains a poise. The author brings a climax when Arun loses his eye-sight while protecting the family of that very white sergeant when his quarter was caught in fire. Sergeant's young daughter of five develops a deep attachment for her saviour. She even is ready to give him one of her eyes so that Arun can see the world again. The author thereby suggests that a child, irrespective of her race, colour or religion represents true humanity. This gesture on part of the child moves Arun deeply. He learns a new lesson in non-violence. Dhana Bhagat reminds Arun of new inner-sight that he is developing. Completely frustrated Arun gets the helping hand from his beloved, Ranjan, a girl from rich family but devoted to the Gandhian constructive programme. It was she who had unfurled the flag when Arun was assaulted by the police. Ranjan encourages Arun that as a life-partner she will carry on along with him the task that he has undertaken to realize the ideal of non-violence and truth. The author has thus emphasized the equal role of women in the freedom struggle.

IV

In *Grām Laxmi*, the hero, Ashvin also comes in contact with equally a strong character in Maheru, a Koli. Maheru is an irony of the circumstances that a village

life usually creates. Maheru is drifted to crimes and robbery as he is without job. He defies police and the government authorities. His innate human qualities are suppressed under the hard crust of his hatred towards the exploiters including the Banias, zamindars and government servants. Ashwin gradually associates Maheru with the village activities despite his known notoriety. Maheru is a profile in courage. Ashwin wants to channelize his energies in the right direction. Maheru also has full faith in Ashwin. He is prepared to shed his blood for him. Ashwin, while undertaking his village programme, takes the help of Rama Patel, an honest and hard-working farmer, and Kanji, a Harijan labourer in Rama Patel's farm. The author depicts an encounter between Arun and his associates on the one hand, and reactionary zamindar, though his own relative and neighbour, and government officials, who all the time obstruct his village activities, on the other. The author has shown how Arun gets whole-hearted co-operation from his wife Kusum and Tara, a widow and his childhood friend. At the same time, the author has introduced a character of Chandranan, a foreign educated Marxist and union leader, whose intellectual pride, though at initial stage, does not allow him to mix with the villagers. Chandranan's ambition is to unite the workers of city against the exploiting class. He has no faith in Arun's programme, though he has developed a special regard for him. The author has shown also the tragic death of Arun's child, Rohit, after his critical illness. Arun for the first time realizes that there are thousands of Rohits in the villages who die without getting any medical treatment. To him now each child in the village is Rohit.

The author brings the end of the novel when the government becomes suspicious about Arun's activities. He is seen as creating discontent among the villages by rousing their expectations. He also is seen as encouraging notorious people like Maheru and giving shelter to the revolutionaries like Chandranan. He is charged for treason, and gets imprisonment for five years. Arun is prepared for the consequences. He exhorts his associates to celebrate the day of his arrest as the day of self-sacrifice. His dream seems to be fulfilled as he has created self-confidence among the villagers who would not now need any leader more to guide them for making the villages self-reliant and beautiful with all the basic amenities of modern life, albeit without its bad influences. He is more happy because he could become an instrument to create a lotus-like Maheru out of 'mud' village.

V

It will be seen from the above discussion that the central character of *Bhārelo Agni*, Rudradatta, does not confront such strong characters like Dhana Bhagat in *Divya Chakshu* and Maheru in *Grām Laxmi*. Rudradatta's characterization is made almost perfect. While Arun and Ashwin have to discover the authenticity of their mission through the circumstances as narrated by the author, Rudradatta is shown as a completely composed person. Circumstances of the forthcoming rebellion do not disturb him. He points out the futility of violence and hared to all who have come

to seek his leadership. However, he fails to convince Gautam, his soldier-disciple, to desist from taking arms. Gautam, despite his deepest regard for his Guru, is convinced of his mission to drive the British out of India. Kalyani, the grand-daughter of Rudradatta wants to marry Gautam only if he realizes the limitations of violence.

Rebellion is in the air and Rudradatta starts his journey for the holy bath at Triveni Sangam. He is accompanied by Kalyani, Trayambak, his chief disciple, and Shankar, an old soldier but now turned as a boatman.

At little distance from his Pathashala Rudradatta destroys his last concealed store of arms and ammunitions that he had preserved so far, which some of the prominent rebels wanted to use against the British. Thus, the author suggests that Rudradatta has completely destroyed his ghost-past.

After covering a distance of about two hundred miles he comes to a town, which by that time has become a strong centre of revolt. He stays in Dharmashala attached to a temple. The rebels want to capture and kill the priest, Johnson, and his family who also have come to the same town, and now have taken a refuge in the same Dharmashala. Rudradatta refuses to submit to the threat of the mob. He also prevents Tryambak (who also wants to be a soldier of Gautam's fame) and Shankar from taking arms against the mob. Being an old soldier, Shankar feels insulted. A shot from Shankar's gun is fired at Rudradatta. Rudradatta utters the word *Om* while collapsing on the ground by the side of Kalyani and Lucy-Laxmi, fatally wounded in the chest. The author depicts this moving scene of the evening time. For his reader, the author symbolizes Rudradatta with Lord Krishna on the battle ground of Mahābhārat. But where as Lord Krishna remained invincible all throughout the epic war, Rudradatta meets his tragic end. Thus, the reader who is emotionally attached to Rudradatta is not prepared to face Rudradatta's death. Tryambak loses his temper, takes lathi to kill Shankar but he is stopped by Rudradatta. Rudradatta declares that only one who takes vow not to touch weapon in any form would perform his last rites. Tryambak, consumed with sorrow, complies with his demand.

The author wrote this novel in 1935, but as Rudradatta was cast in the image of Gandhi the author described the way in which his central character should die. And it is ironical that years later Gandhi also met such heroic death, and that too at the hands of a violent Hindu.

VI

It is essentially through his creative novels that Ramanlal mirrored the Gandhian movement. And he did it in such a way that he earned immense popularity among the educated middle class of Gujarat. It is true that he wrote most of his novels almost in a causal fashion, sometimes only after a light goading from his friends and publishers. It is also likely that his own personality of keeping himself in the low-key profile did not make him conscious as a writer with a message for the society. Nevertheless, it seems clear that his sensitive mind had grasped the pressing issues of the time. He was attracted towards Marxism. However, he could not get himself

reconciled with the method of the communists. He found in Gandhi the sum-total of all the best elements that the Indian culture had produced. Obviously the spirit of nationalism which gradually evolved in his novels was informed by the integrated approach of deep humanism overriding the limited objectives of political freedom.

According to many Gujarati literary critics Ramanlal's novels lack compact structure. He falls short of a regour of a first-rate fiction writer like K. M. Munshi. That he fails to create right atmosphere through the interaction of his characters to convey the covert meaning implicitly in the very structure of the fiction. That he cannot resist a temptation to intervene between the characters and a reader, thereby making his reader conscious about what he as an author wants to convey. Long passages of reflective observations create *Rasabhaṅg*. It seems that Ramanlal has adapted this style from Goverdhanram Tripathi, a classic Gujarati writer of the late nineteenth century.

Not that Ramanlal was not conscious of his limitations. However, it seems that his very limitations of intrusion indirectly created a space in the mind of a reader to come out from the fictional world, and compare it with the world of reality. Thus, by making the meaning explicit Ramanlal seemed to have believed that along with the current historical forces a fictional narrative would help to enlarge reality expanding reader's notions about the Indian culture and society, and of what could be possible. Thus, an ordinary reader who knew the least about the principles of literary criticism could grasp the message surcharged with an enlarged vision that the Gandhian movement created. This perhaps was one of the reasons why Ramanlal became the most popular novelist in the thirties and forties.

Obviously Ramanlal himself being the product of the urban bourgeoisie, his plots and central characters reflected the educated decent urban middle class of Gujarat. Also influenced by the Gandhian ideology Ramanlal did not want to give shock to his reader by creating a situation with sharply contrasting characters. On the whole, he was eager to resolve the problems created by his characters. He made his reader more secured in a cosy atmosphere to grasp the message with mild doses. In a way, his novels reflect the typical pragmatic Gujarati temperament and approach to life. This we seldom find in K. M. Munshi's novels. Munshi over-powers and dazzles his reader; where as Ramanlal entertains as well as educates—he takes his readers into his confidence.

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Role of Urban Women in the Indian Freedom Struggle-with Special Reference to the City of Ahmedabad (1920-1947)

Usha Bhatt*

This paper intends to review the role of urban women in the Indian freedom struggle with two different aspects. Firstly, the role of urban women in the unique experiment which was in subconscious mind of Gandhiji and secondly, the participation of women directly or indirectly in the field of social development.

The first aspect deals with the role of urban women in the experiment regarding the integration of female as well as male consciousness in a human personality, which may ultimately lead to the emergence of integral human consciousness, which in its turn may help to reconstruct human society on the basis of love, non-violence and truth. In this context, to some extent the role of women in Indian freedom struggle, living in the urban segment of the society seems to have its roots in this experiment. This experiment tried to give a shape to the society which may be (i) value oriented, mainly on the values of truth, non-violence and love and (ii) with the touch of spirituality that may be even experiment in the direction to spiritualize politics. In order to understand the experiment there is need to go through Gandhiji's concept of spirituality.

A historical study of woman leadership and the role of Gandhiji in the city of Ahmedabad (1920-1947)¹ helps us to understand the experiment of the spiritualization of a woman's personality.² Gandhiji tried to give a touch of spirituality to a woman's personality. While doing this Gandhiji tried to handle the tradition-change relationship in a masterly way. He took the tradition of spirituality and presented it before the women in such a way that it helped to activate them in the movements. Looking to the spirit of the experiment as previously stated the experiment was to have integration of male-female consciousness in a human personality. The unmarried, married, widows, the women deserted by their husbands, young and old, all participated in the movements. The women who were in position to have the slightest touch of the experiment, to some extent, were in position to play meaningful and noteworthy role in the movements. In order to understand the experiment, Gandhiji's expectation from a woman is worth mentioning. Gandhiji writes: "Let her transfer that love to the whole humanity, let her forget she ever was or can be the object of man's lust. And she will occupy her proud position by the side of man as his

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mother maker and silent leader. It is given to her to teach the art of peace to the warring world thirsting for the nectar. She can become the leader in Satyagraha which does require the learning that books give but does require the stout heart that comes from suffering and faith.”³

Thus, Gandhiji hinted at what he meant by the spiritualization of a woman's personality. The process of spiritualization has the capability to bring about radical change and even total transformation of a human personality.

Edward Taylor's comments pertaining to the Gandhian concept of soul-force shall further help to understand the process. Edward Taylor writes :

“The Gandhian concept of soul-force is a mystic one and seems to be basically unscientific. Yet the techniques based upon it are probably more effective than any techniques of mass influence that have been developed in our day. They not only win converts to a political cause, they not only generate enthusiasm and lasting morale, they not only produce zealous workers and volunteers for martyrdom, but develop followers into dynamic leaders, capable of attracting new followers, and they have totally refashioned the personalities of millions of Indians. This is no slight result, and the man who has achieved it, the man who has perfected these techniques is surely more than an exhibit in the sideshow of history.”⁴

This soul-force is related to spirit (Ātmā) and the process of spiritualization (Ādhyātmikīkaraṇ). Gandhiji attempted to initiate this process amongst woman through his usual methods of personal contact, interviews, letters, writings in magazines like ‘Navjivan’, ‘Harijan’, leaflets and various news papers, speeches delivered at morning and evening prayers and public meetings. Gandhiji's published letters to the women inmates of the Ashrams, like Kusumben Desai, Gangaben (Bochasan Ashram-Gujarat), Prabhavati Jayprakash Narayan, Esther Faering, Miraben and others are proofs for the same.⁵ The unpublished letters to Gangaben Zaveri and Naniben Zaveri⁶ further illustrates this point.

Gandhiji wrote to Miraben that the Ashram was ultimately to be found not at Sabarmati but within one's self.⁷ This indicates the process by which an individual ego can be merged into the cosmic consciousness. The Ashram was the symbol of the universe. He wrote to Premabehn that the Ashram exists, not merely for the service of the nation, but for the service of the world, through serving the nation one can serve the world and thereby get Moksha, freedom, to have vision of God.⁸ Gandhiji further explained to Premabehn that, while searching for truth, one integrates one self with each and every life. (‘Satya Shodhava Jiva Mātrani Sāthe Aikya Sādhvānuṇ Chhe.’). Thus, to Gandhiji, the Ashram was a continuously expanding family.⁹ The study of these letters shows that Gandhiji worked for psycho-social evolution of a woman.¹⁰

In a letter to Manibahen Patel Gandhiji explained the position of a 'brahmachārī' and a 'brahmachārīnī'.¹¹ He exhorted her to be brave and happy. Further, he explained her the position of a 'kumārīkā' an unmarried girl, a virgin.¹² If it was possible, he further added, that he would even be prepared to attempt to prevent the girls from being forcibly unmarried, and rather keep them unmarried. (Huñ to Māruñ chāle to chhokarīone parāñe kumārīkā rākhu, Parāñe parañavāñi kriyā karvāñi faraj mane chhokarīo pāñe chhe."'). He favoured celibacy (brahmcharya) for the girls.¹³

Gandhiji stated that today nobody was ready to have faith in the power of celibacy of an Indian woman. He expected that the example of the 'kumārīkā' of the Ashram would bring back such faith.¹⁴ In a letter to Premabahen, Gandhiji further elucidated these ideas. He writes :

"For the girls the ideal is Akhaññ Brahmcarya x x x x but a girl who is a 'brahmchārīnī', should have knowledge for the child rearing, she will not be considered a 'brahmchārīnī' if she stays in a cave." A kumārīkā integrates herself with the whole world. She becomes a mother of the universe. In spite of the fact that we may not find such a 'kumārīkā', but the ideal is this."¹⁵

Gandhiji here presented the ideal of Jagat-Janani, world motherhood to a woman. Such a woman may realise the dream to materialise the idea of 'Vasudhaiv kuṭum-bakam' that the whole universe is a family. Many such ideas are expressed in the letters written to these women, showing Gandhiji's commitments to the cause of the spiritualization of a woman's personality. He extended this commitment to this practical activities in the national freedom movement, satyāgrahas, social organizations and institutions like Sabarmati Harijan Ashram Textile Labour Association (T.L.A. Where he supported the woman-leadership of Ansuya Sarabhai), Jyotisangh, Vikasgruha and other related bodies.

The point that may be emphasised is that as far as this aspect of spiritual development of the movement is concerned these woman actively participated in the various activities of the national freedom struggle and played note-worthy role. These women really tried their level best to give a spiritual dimension to the freedom struggle. In a sense these women inspite of their limitations tried to give response to the experiment to spiritualise one's personality or to have integration of male-female consciousness in a human personality and to some extent tread the path of progress.

II

The second aspect is that some of the women directly or indirectly played note worthy role in the field of social-development.¹⁶ There were many noted and unnoted women who played their role in the field but here in this paper six women are selected for the study. Their names and other details are as follows.

The names of the women	The year of birth	Their age in the year 1940
(i) Kum. Maniben Vallabhbhai Patel	1903	37
(i i) Mrs. Pushpaben Janardanrai Mehta	1905	35
(iii) Kum. Indumati Chimanlal Sheth	1906	34
(iv) Mrs. Vijayaben Zinabhai Desai	1911	29
(v) Kum. Sumitra Bhupatrai Thakor	1914	26
(vi) Kum. Hemlata Hegishte	1917	23 ¹⁷

So it is evident that as far as the marital status of the women is concerned out of these six women, only two were married and other four remained single through out their lives.

The other details regarding their caste, place of birth and education are given as under :

Names	Caste	Place of birth	Education
(i) Patel, Maniben Vallabhbhai	Leuva Patidar (six villages of Kheda district)	A small village in Kheda district, named Gana (in Anand Taluka, near Karamsad)	The graduation degree from Gujarat Vidyapeeth (snātak)
(i i) Mehta, Pushpa	Vadnagara Nagar Gruhstha.	Prabhas Patan	The Post graduation degree from S.N.D.T. uni. (P. A.)
(iii) Sheth, Indumati	Jain.	Ahmedabad.	Gujarat Vidyapeeth Snātak.
(iv) Desai, Vijayaben	Anavil	Vijalpur (Navsari-Surat)	The graduation degree from Jalandhar Gurukul.
(v) Thakor, Sumitra.	Brahma-Kshtriya	Ahmedabad	The graduation degree from S.N.D.T. uni. (G. A.)
(vi) Hegisthe, Hemalata	Maharashtrian.	Ahmedabad	B.A.LL.B

From among three women, Pushpa Mehta, Sumita Thakor and Hemlata Hegishte remained closely associated with Jyotisangh and vikasgruha and through the activities

of these institutions they played their role for the social development of women. This role in its turn helped to strengthen the spirit of nationalism amongst women and men.

The correspondence between one of the founders of Jyotisingh, Mrudula Sarabhai and Pushpa Mehta¹⁸ reveals the point that they were in a position to play this role. Jyotisingh was considered to be a laboratory to search for the workings theories of social development through the activities which dealt with the women's development.¹⁹

Amongst these six women Pushpaben Mehta played very prominent role, and so her concept of social development of women is worth mentioning. The genesis of her concept of social development of women may be traced from her very childhood. Her mother Hetuba used to propagate women's education and was imparting education to the village women. Pushpaben's father, Shri Harprasad Desai was an Aryasamajist and a reformist, used to render help and shelter to needy women. This family atmosphere of the childhood and the conviction of Pushpaben to help the women, brought the right opportunities to serve the cause. Vikas gruha, the women's institution, with which Pushpaben remained closely connected, used to work on the principle that a woman is an individual, in the sense that she should enjoy social freedom and status as much as her male counterparts as an agent of social change, and the society's attitude towards women should be on that line. An orphan girl is a nation's wealth and the responsibility of her upbringing is with the society.²⁰

In the connection with this principle Pushpaben tried to bring about changes in the social status of women in Gujarat. Through vikas gruha, She mainly tried to ban the child-marriages. She helped the woman to claim for their livelihood, when they were deserted by their husbands. In Saurashtra she strived to see that the principle of monogamy should be strictly followed.

In 1944 Shri Panchal Pragati Gruha, a social institution was founded in Halvad On 16th July, 1945. 'Shri kanta vikas gruha' in Rajkot and in the same year 'Vadhwan Vikas Vidyalaya' were also founded. Through all these three institutions Pushpaben wanted to make the position of women respectable in the society.

In order to be effective and influential in this field, she kept close contact with politics. The history of her life as a social worker, reveals this point with Pushpaben other women also played important role in this fields.

From the Viewpoint of the Constructive aspect of the Indian freedom struggle, specially during Gandhian era (1920-1947), urban women in the freedom struggle should be highlighted, from these two aspects, namely their role in spiritual development or in the experiment to have integral male-female consciousness in a woman's personality and in the field of social development. In the present age of the adventure in human consciousness, both these aspects need the tender research care from the social scientists.

Footnotes

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The paper presented at the 21st annual Conference of the Institute of Historical studies, Calcutta, held at Erode-Tamilnadu, January 7-9-1983 (unpublished).
3. J. B. Kripalani, *Gandhi : His life and thought*, New Delhi, p. 396
4. Edward Taylor, 'The problem of Personality', *Profiles of Gandhi*, (editor) Norman Cousins, p. 71
5. The following Gujarati books (except last two in English) are published by Navjivan Prakashan, Ahmedabad. All the books are edited by Mr. Kalelkar Dattatreya Balkrishna
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 - (ii) *Bāpunā Patro 3, Kusumben Desaine*, 1954
 - (iii) *Bāpunā Patro 4, Maniben Patelne*, 1957
 - (iv) *Bāpunā Patro 5, Kum. Premababen Kantakne*, 1960
 - (v) *Bāpunā Patro 6, G. Sw. Gangababenane*, 1960
 - (vi) *Bāpunā Patro, Prabhavatine*, 1966
 - (vii) *Bāpu's letters to Mira (1924-1948)*, 1949
6. The author of the paper had gone through the unpublished letter available from Gangaben Zaveri. Some of the letters are published in the following book.
Manu Pandit, (ed), *Swātantrya Senānt Gangaben Zaveri* (Gujarati), Jivan smruti Swadhyaya Mandir, Ahmedabad, 1983
7. *Bāpu's letters to Mira*, p. 13, letter No. 11 dated 3 rd January, 1927
8. *Bāpunā Patro 5, Kum. Premababen Kantakne*, pp. 57, 58, Letter No. 58, dated 25 th January, 1932
9. *Ibid.*, BP. 94, 95, Letter No. 75, dated 19 th May, 1932
10. Bhatt, Usha G., 'Sabarmati Ashramna Sandarbhamā Gandhijina Stri Netrutv Angana Vicharo, (1917-1933)' '*Vidyapeeth*', Ahmedabad, issue 106, July-August, 1980
11. *Bāpunā Patro Maniben Patelne*, p. 28. letter No, 43 (Maunvar, Gandhiji used to observe silence on the day) 1926.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 44, Letter No. 50. dated 1 st. January, 1927
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 49. 50, Letter No. 54, dated 17 th January, 1927

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52, Letter No. 55 dated 6 th February, 1927
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 163, Letter No. 115
16. Bhatt, Usha G., 'Hindi Swatantrya ladat ane Amdāvād Shaherni Striono Sāmājik Vikāsmān Fālo. (1920-1947)' presented the paper at the 13 th Conference of Gujarat Idihās Parishad, Dec. 30, 31, 1984, Jan. 1st. 1985 held at Ahmedabad (unpublished).
17. All the six women were interviewed by the authur of the paper in Ahmedabad during November, December, 1985
18. The Correspondence is available at Sarabhai's residence Shahibag, Retreat,' Ahmedabad. The author of the paper referred the same.
19. The resolution sent by Mrudula Sarabhai for the working policy of Jyotisangh on 18th January 1944, File No. Z/F Jyotisangh, 1944-45
20. Labhubhai Shukla 'Zālāvādmā Āgaman Pūshpaben Mehta : Sāmājik Utkrāntinā Praṇetā. Saṅgharsh ane Siddhina Kathā (Gujarati), 15th April, 1984, p. 51

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कृष्णदत्त वाजपेयी*

मर्यादा-पुरुषोत्तम श्रीराम के अनन्य भक्त के रूप में श्रीहनुमान का नाम प्रख्यात है। अत्याचार के प्रतिनिधि रावण तथा उसके सहयोगियों के दमन में हनुमानजी ने अतुलित बल का परिचय दिया। इस कार्य में तथा आर्य-संस्कृति के प्रसार में श्रीराम के नेतृत्व में उन्होंने महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। हनुमान को कालांतर में जो प्रभूत सम्मान प्राप्त हुआ, उसके मूल में ये कारण विद्यमान हैं।

आद्यैतिहासिक युग में आर्यों-द्वारा अभिकृत क्षेत्र के दक्षिण में राक्षस-वर्ग ने अपना आधिपत्य बढ़ाने का प्रयास किया था। लंकाधिपति रावण के समय में यह प्रवृत्ति विशेष रूप से बढ़ी। इसका पता कतिपय पुराणों तथा वाल्मीकि रामायण से चलता है। रावण के पिता पुलस्त्य आर्य थे, पर माता केकसी अनाया थी। राक्षसों के आचार-विचार आर्य-परंपरा से भिन्न थे। वैदिक देवों, ऋषि-मुनियों तथा ब्राह्मणों द्वारा निर्मित राजनीतिक तथा सामाजिक व्यवस्था में राक्षसों का विश्वास नहीं था। अनेक कारणों से वे आर्य-परंपरा से असंतुष्ट थे। उनकी विरोध-भावना क्रमशः बढ़ने लगी और वे आर्य-परंपरा का मूलोच्छेद तक करने के उद्योग करने लगे। पाशविक शक्ति के सहारे वे आर्य-संस्कृति को नष्ट कर उसके स्थान पर राक्षस-तंत्र का व्यापक प्रसार करने के स्वप्न देखने लगे।

रावण बहुत शक्तिशाली शासक था। उसने साम-दाम-दंड-भेद की नीति अपना कर राक्षसीय प्रभुत्व का विस्तार कर लिया। असुरों के एक वर्ग को भी उसने अपने साथ कर लिया। उसके प्रतिद्वंद्वी सुर या आर्य लोग रावण की बढ़ी हुई शक्ति का सामना करने में अपने को असमर्थ अनुभव करने लगे। कुछ समय बाद रावण की शक्ति दुर्दांत हो उठी। वह अपने को महान् विजेता तथा किसी अन्य द्वारा अपने को अविजित समझने लगा। विंध्य-क्षेत्र के बड़े भूभाग पर तथा उसके दक्षिण विस्तृत क्षेत्र पर रावण की घाक पूरी तरह जम गई। वह विंध्य के उत्तर के आर्य राज्यों को भी एक-एक कर समाप्त करने की बात सोचने लगा। उसके अनेक सहायकों ने उसकी-महत्वाकांक्षा की पूर्ति में रावण को सहायता दी। विंध्य-क्षेत्र के आश्रमों में निवास करने वाले ऋषि-मुनियों को राक्षसों द्वारा संतप्त किया गया। मूल उद्देश्य यही था कि वैदिक यज्ञों को संपन्न न होने दिया जाये तथा क्रमशः वैदिक मान्यताओं को समाप्त कर दिया जाये।

रावण के शासनकाल में राक्षसों के अत्याचार बहुत बढ़ चुके थे। उत्तर भारत में तभी एक विशेष घटना घटी। कोसल के प्रसिद्ध इक्ष्वाकु-वंश के राजकुमार श्रीराम ने अपने पिता श्री दशरथ के वचनों का आदर कर, स्वेच्छा से चौदह वर्षों का वनवास अंगीकार कर लिया। इसके लिए उन्हें अयोध्या के दक्षिण उस पर्वतीय विस्तृत क्षेत्र में जाना पड़ा जो पर्वतों और घने वनों से आच्छादित था। श्रीराम के 14 लंबे वनवास का सबसे बड़ा लाभ हुआ कि आर्यावर्त की दक्षिणी सीमा की ओर से उत्तर को बढ़ता हुआ

* टागोर प्रोफेसर और निवृत्त अध्यक्ष, डिपार्टमेंट ऑफ एन्थ्रॉपॉलॉजी इन्डियन हिस्ट्री, कल्चर एन्ड आर्कियोलॉजी, मागार युनिवर्सिटी, सागर, मध्यप्रदेश

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राक्षस-प्रभुत्व अवरुद्ध हो गया। श्रीराम ने कुछ समय बाद रावण का वध कर उसकी महत्वाकांक्षा को समाप्त कर दिया। उसके छोटे भाई विभीषण को लंका का शासक बनाया गया। विभीषण तथा उसके उत्तराधिकारियों ने उस आर्य-परंपरा के प्रति श्रद्धा और विश्वास प्रकट किया, जिसके प्रतिनिधि अयोध्या-पति राम थे। उन्होंने ऋषियों को दक्षिण भारत में आर्य-संस्कृति के प्रचार में सहयोग दिया। इस प्रकार वह संस्कृति समस्त भारत में फैली। आरंभ में इस कार्य में श्रीराम को वानरों तथा ऋक्षों से प्रभूत सहायता मिली, जिन्होंने आपस में मिल कर अपना एक दृढ़ संगठन बना लिया था।

रावण की दुर्दांत पाशविक शक्ति का उन्मूलन सहज संभव न था। इसके लिए श्रीराम को वानरों तथा ऋक्षों का विशेष रूप से सहयोग लेना पड़ा। ये दोनों मानव जातियाँ थीं और इनका निवास विंध्य तथा उसके दक्षिण के भूभाग में था। वानराधिप सुग्रीव के साथ श्रीराम की मैत्री कराने का श्रेय हनुमान को प्राप्त हुआ। जब ऋष्यमूक पर्वत पर श्रीराम की प्रथम भेंट हनुमान से हुई तबसे लेकर अंत तक हनुमान ने राम के प्रति असाधारण निष्ठा का निर्वाह किया। सीता की खोज, सेतुबन्ध, राम-रावण युद्ध, अयोध्या-वापसी तथा राम-राज्याभिषेक—इन सभी मुख्य घटनाओं में हनुमानजी श्रीराम के “दक्षिणहस्तवत्” रहे। राक्षसों के साथ महायुद्ध में हनुमान का शौर्य तथा कौशल सराहनीय थे। उनके इन गुणों तथा अपने प्रति असीम निष्ठा के कारण श्रीराम उन्हें अपना अनन्य भक्त मानने लगे। रामभक्त हनुमान को भारतीय संस्कृति के संरक्षक होने के नाते परवर्ती भारतीय इतिहास में प्रचुर सम्मान प्राप्त हुआ। गोस्वामी तुलसीदासजी ने उसके महत्त्व को विशेषरूप से बढ़ाया। गोस्वामीजी के समय (16 वीं शती) से लेकर आज तक हनुमानजी की पूजा व्यापक रूप में भारत के विभिन्न भागों में विद्यमान है।

प्राचीन भारतीय साहित्य और कला में हनुमानजी का यशोगान विविध रूपों में उपलब्ध है। संस्कृत, प्राकृत, हिन्दी तथा अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं में हनुमान का गुणगान अनुपम रामभक्त के रूप में मिलता है। साथ ही उन्हें अत्याचार के विध्वंस असीम शक्ति वाला देव माना गया, जो असंभव को भी संभव बनाने की क्षमता रखता है।

भारतीय मूर्तिकला में ईसवी आठवीं शती से वीरभाव में हनुमान की विशाल प्रतिमाएँ बनने लगीं। उनके मंदिरों का भी निर्माण पूर्वमध्य काल में आरंभ हुआ। हनुमानजी की आठवीं शती की एक खंडित पाषाण-मूर्ति लखनऊ संग्रहालय में है। उसी काल की दूसरी मूर्ति चित्तोड़ में मिली थी। मध्य प्रदेश के गुना जिले में इन्दौर (प्राचीन इन्द्रपुर) में हनुमान के मंदिर के अवशेष मिले हैं। वहीं उनकी एक विशाल पाषाण-प्रतिमा सुरक्षित है। मूर्ति की चरणचौकी पर उत्कीर्ण लेख से ज्ञात होता है कि मूर्ति का निर्माण ई. नवीं शती में हुआ। मूर्ति में दायाँ हाथ ऊपर उठा है, और बायाँ भग्न है। उनका बायाँ पैर अप-स्मार पुरुष के ऊपर रखा है। कमर का कटिबंध रोचक है।

हनुमान की एक महाकाय मूर्ति मथुरा में मिली थी, जो अब मथुरा संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित है। उसमें हनुमान का वीरभाव बड़े प्रभावोत्पादक ढंग से प्रदर्शित है। यह मूर्ति लाल बलुए परथर की बनी है और उसका निर्माण—काल नवीं शती के आरंभ का है। वानरमुख हनुमान की मूर्तियाँ बनाने का आरंभ संभवतः मथुरा-कला में हुआ।

खजुराहो (मध्यप्रदेश) में हनुमानजी की तीन उल्लेखनीय प्रतिमाएँ मिलीं हैं। पहली महाकाय मूर्ति खजुराहो के पश्चिमी मंदिर-समूह से गाँव की ओर आती हुई सड़क के किनारे बनी हुई मंडपिका (मढ़िया) में प्रतिष्ठापित है। वहाँ पहले हनुमान का मंदिर रहा होगा। यह प्रतिमा विशेष महत्त्व की है। इसकी चरण चौकी पर हर्ष संवत् 316 (= 922) ई. का ब्राह्मी लेख उत्कीर्ण है। खजुराहो में उपलब्ध लेखों

में वह सबसे अधिक प्राचीन माना जाता है। मूर्ति में वानरमुख हनुमान का दायाँ पैर पादपीठ पर रखा है। ऊपर उठा हुआ बायाँ चरण पद्मपत्र पर टिका है। नीचे सपत्नीक अपस्मार पुरुष दिखाया गया है। हनुमान का ऊपर उठा हुआ दायाँ हाथ सिर पर है। बायेँ हाथ को मोड़कर वक्ष पर रखा है। लंबी लांगूल ऊपर मुड़ी हुई दिखाई गई है। हनुमान के गले में लंबी वनमाला शोभित है। उनके दाईं ओर कटि के समीप अंजलिमुद्रा में हाथ जोड़ कर बैठे हुए भक्त की लघु आकृति है।

खजुराहो में हनुमान की दूसरी मूर्ति वर्तमान “वनखंडी महादेव” मंदिर के भीतर है। उस मूर्ति का निर्माण—काल ई. दसवीं शती है। पहली मूर्ति के समान यह भी वीरभाव में है। उसमें नीचे अपस्मार पुरुष सपत्नीक न होकर, अकेला है। मूर्ति में लंबी लांगूल नहीं दिखाई गई। हनुमान का मुख सामने की ओर है, पृष्ठभाग नहीं दिखाया गया।

तीसरी प्राचीन मूर्ति खजुराहो गाँव के पास निनोरा ताल के किनारे बनी एक मढिया में सुरक्षित है। उसकी रचना पहली दोनों प्रतिमाओं जैसी है।

ये तीनों प्रतिमाएँ पूजा में हैं। उन पर चढ़ी हुई सिंदूर की पतों से उनकी प्राचीनता का अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है। हनुमान की इन स्वतंत्र मूर्तियों के अलावा खजुराहो के एक शिलापट्ट पर श्रीराम तथा सीताजी के साथ हनुमान दिखाये गये हैं। वह शिलापट्ट पार्श्वनाथ—मंदिर के बहिर्भाग पर लगा है। उसमें राम के बाएँ पार्श्व में सीता खड़ी हैं। दाईं ओर खड़े हुए हनुमान की वानरमुख लघु आकृति बनी है। वे करण्ड मुकुट धारण किये हैं। उनके मस्तक पर श्रीराम अपना दक्षिणाधः कर “पालित मुद्रा” में रखे हुए हैं। इस शिलापट्ट का निर्माणकाल ईसवीं दसवीं शती है। मुख्य राम—परिवार के अंग के रूप में हनुमान भारतीय मूर्तिकला में अब तक प्रतिष्ठित हो चुके थे।

मध्यप्रदेश में मल्लार नामक स्थल (जिला बिलासपुर) एक उल्लेखनीय कला—केन्द्र है। वहाँ शुंगकाल से लेकर तेरहवीं शती तक विभिन्न घर्षों से संबंधित कलाकृतियों का निर्माण बड़े रूप में हुआ। हनुमानजी की एक विशेष प्रतिमा वहीं मिली है जिसमें उनका भंगिमायुक्त वीरभाव दर्शनीय है। दायाँ हाथ ऊपर उठा हुआ है। बायाँ कमर में खोसी हुई कटार के ऊपर है। उनका बायाँ पैर अपस्मार नारी की पीठ पर है। नारी आकृति के नीचे अपस्मार पुरुष बैठा है। हनुमानजी का नीचे गिरता हुआ उत्तरीय आकर्षक ढंग से दिखाया गया है। वे करंड मुकुट, हार, एकावली, चौलड़ी मेखला तथा दुहरे नूपुर पहने हैं। मेखला से लटकती हुई क्षुद्रघंटिकाएँ दिखाई गई हैं। कानों में गोल कुंडल तथा हाथों में अंगद और कटक है। मस्तक के पीछे दुहरा प्रभामंडल दिखाया गया है। हनुमानजी की मूँछे विजयी योद्धा की तरह ऊपर तनी हुई हैं।

हाल में इन पंक्तियों के लेखक को सागर जिला के कानगढ़ नामक स्थान में हनुमानजी की एक विशाल मूर्ति देखने को मिली। दुर्भाग्य से उसे तोड़ कर उसके दो भाग कर दिये गये। हनुमान के बायेँ पैर के नीचे अपस्मार पुरुष है। हनुमानजी का मुख खुला हुआ है, जिससे उनकी दुहरी दंतपंक्ति साफ दिखाई देती है। सिर पर मुकुट शोभायमान है। दायाँ हाथ वक्ष के सामने है। मुकुट के अलावा वे अन्य अनेक आभूषण धारण किये हैं।

भारत के अन्य अनेक स्थलों में हनुमानजी की बहुसंख्यक कलाकृतियाँ मिली हैं। वे पत्थर, कांसा, चांदी, आदि की बनी हैं। दक्षिण भारत में घातु, चंदन तथा हार्थीदांत की बनी हुई हनुमान की बहुसंख्यक

मूर्तियाँ पायी गई हैं, जो देश के अन्य भागों को भी भेजी जाती थीं। श्रीराम-परिवार के वे अभिन्न अंग हो गये थे, इस तथ्य को कलाकार नहीं भूल सकते थे। राजस्थानी तथा पहाड़ी चित्रकला में श्रीराम चरित का अंकन प्रचुर रूप में मिलता है। वहाँ हनुमानजी को उचित स्थान प्रदान किया गया। हनुमान की पंचमुखी विशाल पाषाण मूर्तियाँ गुजरात में तलना नामक स्थान से तथा राजस्थान में जोधपुर से मिली हैं।

हनुमानजी की अनेक मूर्तियाँ भारत के बाहर स्याम, कंबोडिया, जावा, सुमात्रा आदि में मिली हैं। वहाँ के जिन प्राचीन मंदिरों में रामकथा का अंकन मिलता है। उनमें हनुमानजी की आकृतियाँ निश्चितरूप से उल्कीर्ण हैं। उन देशों में होने वाली रामलीलाओं में हनुमान बनने वाले पात्र अपने को बहुत गौरवान्वित मानते हैं।

विंध्य क्षेत्र के चंदेल-शासक हनुमान के विशेष भक्त थे। उनके समय में हनुमान की अनेक पूज्य-प्रतिमाओं का निर्माण उस क्षेत्र के विभिन्न स्थलों में हुआ। इतना ही नहीं, चंदेल-राजाओं ने शासन द्वारा प्रचलित अपने सिक्कों पर हनुमान की आकृति का अंकन कराया। हनुमान के पूज्य श्रीराम की आकृति को सर्वप्रथम विजयनगर साम्राज्य के शासक यिस्मलराय प्रथम ने 1570-71 ई० में अपने सिक्कों पर अंकित कराया। उसके बाद 1605 ई० में मुघल सम्राट अकबर ने सोने तथा चांदी के कतिपय दुर्लभ सिक्के जारी किये, जिन पर सीता तथा राम दोनों की छवियाँ अंकित हैं। उन पर तत्कालीन नागरी लिपि में “रामसीय” लिखा है।

विंध्य क्षेत्र को यह गौरव प्राप्त है कि यहीं सबसे पहले श्रीराम की पूजा का आरंभ हुआ। इस क्षेत्र के पन्ना जिला में स्थित नचना नामक स्थान में रामकथा से अंकित अनेक कलापूर्ण शिलापट्ट मिले हैं। नचना से प्राप्त एक शिलापट्ट पर वह दृश्य अंकित है जिसमें मेघनाद द्वारा बद्ध हनुमान को रावण की सभा में उपस्थित किया गया। इन पट्टों का निर्माण—काल लगभग ई. 500 है। संभवतः उस समय श्रीराम के मंदिर का निर्माण नचना में हुआ, जिसमें ये शिलापट्ट लगाये गये। नचना के अलावा विंध्य क्षेत्र से देवगढ़ नामक स्थान से भी रामकथा के कई गुप्तकालीन शिलापट्ट मिले हैं। इनमें राम-हनुमान मिलन तथा हनुमान द्वारा द्रोणगिरि को लाना उल्लेखनीय है।

महाकवि वाल्मीकि ने रामकथा का प्रणयन इसी भूभाग में किया। प्रसिद्ध तीर्थ-स्थल चित्रकूट के समीप ही वाल्मीकि आश्रम विद्यमान था, जिसके प्रमाण स्मारकों के रूप में आज तक वहाँ सुरक्षित हैं।

वीरभाव में हनुमान की पूजा-परंपरा आज तक व्यापक रूप में विद्यमान है। राक्षसों के संहारक, असंभव कार्यों को भी पूरा करने के सामर्थ्य वाले, नैष्ठिक राम-भक्त हनुमान को परवर्ती भारतीय देव-मंडल में प्रमुख स्थान प्रदान किया गया। यह स्वाभाविक ही था। भीषण संकटों से त्राण प्रदान करनेवाला उनका वीर-रूप जन-मानस को विशेष रूप से मान्य हुआ। भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रबल रक्षक के रूप में वे आदृत हुए। लोक-नायक, मर्यादा-पुरुषोत्तम श्रीराम के आदर्श का निर्वाह हनुमानजी के द्वारा सम्यक् प्रकार से किया गया। उनके उपर्युक्त गुणों के कारण हनुमानजी हमारे लिए मंगलदायक देवता के रूप में पूज्य हुए हैं।

वैदिक निष्क : सिक्काशास्त्र के परिप्रेक्ष्य में

रेनू लाल *

भारतवर्ष में सिक्के की प्राचीनता ई. पू. छठी शती मानी गई है। इस समय से पूर्व भी विनिमय के माध्यम के रूप में मुद्रा तो अवश्य ही प्रचलित थी। लेकिन साहित्य में कहीं भी इसका स्पष्ट उल्लेख नहीं मिलता है।

वैदिक-काल से ही भारत में 'निष्क' और 'हिरण्यपिण्डक' नामक धातु की मुद्राएँ प्रचलित थीं।^१

ऋग्वेद के अनुसार रुद्र ने 'विश्वरूप निष्क' धारण कर रखा था।^२

'विश्वरूप' के आधार पर डॉ. भण्डारकर का मत है कि ये सिक्का है,^३ क्योंकि 'रूप' अथवा 'विश्वरूप' सिक्कों पर चिह्न अथवा आकृति के सूचक शब्द हैं।^४

'रूप्य' अथवा 'रूप' शब्द का प्रयोग पाणिनि की अष्टाध्यायी^५ में, महावग्ग तथा खारवेल के हाथी-गुम्फा अभिलेख^६ में भी हुआ है।

लेकिन इन सभी अभिलेखों में 'रूप' अथवा 'रूप्य' का प्रयोग भिन्न-भिन्न अर्थों में हुआ था और निश्चित रूपसे इसे सिक्का नहीं माना जा सकता है।

डॉ. उपेन्द्र ठाकुर^७ भण्डारकर के मत से सहमत नहीं हैं। इनके अनुसार न तो वैदिक साहित्य के टीकाकारों और न तो बुद्धघोष (महावग्ग का टीकाकार जिसका समय पाँचवी शती था) के पहले के किसी भी टीकाकार ने 'रूप' का प्रयोग चिह्न के रूप में नहीं किया है।

कौटिल्य के अनुसार 'रूपदर्शक' सिक्कों की जाँच करता था। मुद्रा को विनिमय के माध्यम के रूप में तथा खजाने की कानूनी मुद्रा के रूप में नियन्त्रित रखता था।^८ 'लक्षणाभ्यक्ष' वास्तव में टंकशाला का अभ्यक्ष होता था।^९ इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि 'रूप' सिक्के के लिये तथा लक्षण चिह्न के लिये प्रयोग होता था।^{१०}

पाणिनि की अष्टाध्यायी में भी भारत के प्राचीनतम सिक्के के विषय में उल्लेख मिलता है।

डॉ. वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल^{१२} ने पाणिनि की अष्टाध्यायी में प्रयुक्त 'तेन क्रीतम्' तथा 'तद् अर्हति' के आधार पर सिक्कों की प्राचीनता दर्शाने का प्रयास किया है।

ऋग्वेद^{१३} में ही एक स्थान पर एक गायक को पुरस्कार के रूप में १०० निष्क प्राप्त होने का उल्लेख है। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि निष्क का मुद्रा के रूप में प्रचलन था।

शतपथ ब्राह्मण^{१४} में भी 'स्वर्ण निष्क' का उल्लेख मिलता है।

जातकों में 'निष्क'^{१५} का उल्लेख सोने के सिक्के के रूप में हुआ है।

पाणिनि ने ३ सूत्रों में स्वर्ण निष्क का उल्लेख किया है।

* शोध छात्रा, भो. जे. विद्याभवन, पे/6 आविष्कार सोसायटी, बोपल, अहमदाबाद

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प्रथम सूत्र : (असमासे निष्कादिभ्यः^{१६} में निष्क का प्रयोग किसी वस्तु के खरीदने के लिये सिक्के के रूप में हुआ है। जिस प्रकार से 'पाद', 'पण' और 'माष' का प्रयोग होता था उसी प्रकार से निष्क का प्रयोग होता था।

द्वितीय सूत्र : (द्वि-त्रि पूर्वान्निष्कात्)^{१७} में दो अथवा तीन निष्कों से विनिमय किया गया है जिसके लिये द्वि निष्कम्, द्वैनैष्कम्, त्रि निष्कम् तथा त्रि नैष्कम् आदि का प्रयोग हुआ है।

तृतीय सूत्र :^{१८} (शत-सहस्रन्ताच्च निष्कात्) के अनुसार जिस व्यक्ति के पास सौ निष्क होते थे उसे 'नैष्क शक्ति' की संज्ञा दी जाती थी। इसी प्रकार से जिस व्यक्ति के पास १००० निष्क होते थे उसे 'नैष्क साहस्रिक' की संज्ञा दी जाती थी। ये संज्ञाये निश्चित रूप से व्यक्ति सम्पन्नता की सूचक हैं।^{१९}

महाभारत^{२०} में भी १०० तथा १००० निष्क रखने वाले दो श्रेणी के व्यक्तियों का उल्लेख है। पतंजलि के महाभाष्य में भी 'निष्क घन' तथा 'शत निष्क घन' का उल्लेख है।

धातु : 'निष्क' की धातु के विषय में भी निश्चित रूप से कुछ भी उल्लेख नहीं है। काशिका के अनुसार^{२२} निष्क के आगे सुवर्ण का प्रयोग नहीं किया जाता है। क्योंकि निष्क का तात्पर्य स्वयं ही सुवर्ण सिक्का होता है।

शतपथ ब्राह्मण^{२३} के अनुसार उद्दालक के प्रतिस्पर्धी स्वैदायन को पुरस्कार स्वरूप निष्क दिया गया था। निष्क स्वर्ण का ही था।

कुहुल जातक^{२३} में भी स्वर्ण के १०० निष्कों का उल्लेख है। महाभारत के अनुसार भी स्वर्ण के १०८ निष्क घन की इकाई थी।

वेस्सन्तर जातक^{२५} के अनुसार वेस्सन्तर से, उसके ही पुत्र को पुनः खरीदने के लिये १०० निष्क मांगे गये थे। जुह जातक भी १००० से अधिक निष्कों का उल्लेख करता है।

संभवतः निष्क के अवगुणज (Sub-multiples) भी थे। भण्डारकर के अनुसार 'पाद' स्वर्ण निष्क मांगे की एक इकाई थी। इसी आधार पर उनका मत है कि मिथिला के राजा जनक द्वारा विद्वान ब्राह्मणों को दिये गये २० हजार पाद इसी प्रकार के सिक्के थे।^{२६}

पाणिनि के सूत्र 'पण-पाद माषशताद्यत' को भी इसी अर्थ में लेना चाहिये।^{२७}

डॉ. उपेन्द्र ठाकुर^{२८} का मत है कि जनक द्वारा दिये गये 'पाद' को तो सोने के सिक्के माना जा सकता है लेकिन पाणिनि ने पण के साथ पाद का प्रयोग किया है और पण का सम्बन्ध चाँदी के कार्षापणों से है जिसका उल्लेख कौटिल्य ने भी किया है^{२९}। अतः पाद के स्वर्ण मुद्रा नहीं माना जा सकता है। पतंजलि^{३०} ने भी 'पणनिष्क' तथा पाद निष्क को स्वर्ण निष्क का ही अवगुणन माना है।

मनु^{३१} तथा याज्ञवल्क्य^{३२} के अनुसार भी निष्क = ४ सुवर्ण = ३२० रत्ती, पाद निष्क = १ सुवर्ण = ८० रत्ती।

अर्थात् पाद निष्क तथा सुवर्ण समानार्थी शब्द थे। जिनकी तौल ८० रत्ती थी। निष्क का केवल उल्लेख ही मिलता है। वास्तविक रूप में ये प्राप्त नहीं होने के कारण इसकी तौल निश्चित रूप से कहना अत्यंत कठिन है।

काशिका में 'निष्क माला' का उल्लेख है अर्थात् निष्क कण्ठाभरण ।

उपरोक्त विवेचन से स्पष्ट होता है कि निष्क सोने का सिक्का था । पाद केवल सोने के सिक्के का ही अवगुणज (mutiple) नहीं था³³ वरन् चाँदी के सिक्कों का भी अवगुणज था ।

ब्राह्मण तथा उपनिषद् काल में भी 'निष्क' को सोने का सिक्का नहीं माना जाता था क्योंकि न तो उस पर कोई चिह्न होता था और न ही आकृति³⁴ । निष्क विनिमय की रूप इकाई होती थी जिसकी तौल निश्चित होती थी । अधिकतर दक्षिणा देने के लिये निष्क का प्रयोग होता था ।³⁵

जातक काल में 'निष्क' का प्रयोग व्यापारियों द्वारा भी विनिमय के माध्यम के रूप में होने लगा था ।³⁶
निष्क शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति :

निष्क शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति के विषय में भी विद्वानों में अत्यंत मतभेद है । 'निष्क' शब्द की समानता पुराने आयरिश शब्द 'नैस्क' (Nasc) जिसका अर्थ अंगूठी होता है, से की जाती है । जर्मन भाषा में 'नस्क' (Nusc) का अर्थ कंगन होता है । तमिल भाषा में नकाई (Jewel), मलयाळम में 'नक' (Jewel) हिन्दी और बंगाली में 'नग' का सम्बन्ध प्राकृत तथा पालि के 'निकल' तथा संस्कृत के निष्क से नहीं बताया जा सकता है ।

काशिकृत्स्न धातु वृत्ति में निष्क का उल्लेख है । अतः निष्क की उत्पत्ति इण्डो यूरोपियन मानते हुए निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है कि निष्क का प्रयोग मूल्यवान आभूषण के रूप में ही होता था ।

ऋग्वेद में भी 'निष्क ग्रीवा'³⁷ तथा 'निष्क कुणावहे'³⁸ का उल्लेख है । जिससे स्पष्ट होता है कि निष्क एक कण्ठाभरण था तथा निष्कम् विश्वरूप उसके रूप में प्रयुक्त हुआ है । ऋग्वेद³⁹ में ही निष्क, पदक (Pendant) तथा हार (Necklace) के लिये ही प्रयुक्त हुआ है तथा इनके आकार और तौल का कहीं भी उल्लेख नहीं मिलता है ।

मनुस्मृति के अनुसार निष्क ४ सुवर्णों के बराबर होता था जिसको तौल ३२० रत्ती अर्थात् ५६० ऐन होती थी ।

पालि साहित्य के अनुसार निष्क १५ सुवर्णों की तौल के बराबर होता था अर्थात् निष्क को तौल १२०० रत्ती (२१०० ग्रेन) के बराबर होती है ।

अतः संस्कृत तथा पालि ग्रंथों में उल्लिखित तौल में बहुत अन्तर होने के कारण ये भ्रमपूर्ण है । निष्कर्ष रूप में, साहित्य में कहीं भी 'निष्क पदक' (Pendant) की तौल अथवा माप का उल्लेख नहीं मिलता है ।

आकार :

निष्क के आकार के विषय में केवल ऋग्वेद में ही उल्लेख है । जिसमें देवी प्रतिमा को कौड़ियों की माला पहने हुए बताया गया है⁴⁰ । (चतुष्कपदी युवतिः सुकेशधृत-प्रतीका वायुनानीवस्ते)

प्राचीनकाल में धातु से कौड़ी के आकार के चम्मच तथा प्लेट बनाये जाते थे । स्टैन⁴¹ ने लगभग ४ मातृकाओं के कण्ठाभरण में कौड़ी का प्रयोग 'पवक' (Pendant) के रूप में देखा है ।

डा. पाठक ने ऋग्वेद में उल्लिखित 'चतुष्कपदी' को चार कौड़ियों वाला कण्ठाभरण माना है । इनके मतानुसार निष्क का प्रयोग कौड़ी के ही होता था । क्योंकि (१) वैदिक युग में कौड़ी का प्रयोग पदक (Pendant)⁴² के रूप में होता था । (२) कौड़ी तथा शतमान की तौल एक समान है । (३) कौड़ी ऐतिहासिक-स्थलों (Proto-historic-sites) से भी प्राप्त हुई है जिसमें त्रि-वृत्त बना है जो कि अत्यन्त प्राचीन चिह्न है ।

वैदिक निष्क : सिक्काशास्त्र के परिप्रेक्ष्यमें

५ वी शती में फाह्यान भारत-भ्रमण के लिये आया था तो उसने मगध में कौटिल्यो का प्रयोग विनिमय के माध्यम के रूप में होते देखा था ।

इस प्रकार से उपरोक्त विवेचन से स्पष्ट होता है कि निष्क सोने अथवा चाँदी के निश्चित तौल की मुद्राएँ थीं जिनका प्रयोग अष्टिकांशतः आभूषण के रूप में किया जाता था । इनके गुणक भी होते थे जिनका मूल्य चातु के मूल्य के आधार पर निश्चित होता था । अर्थात् एक निश्चित समय जब तक इन पर चिह्न अंकित होते थे उस समय तक ये और बाद में इनका प्रयोग मात्र आभूषण की ही तरह होने लगा था ।

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सूरदास एवं शुद्धाद्वैत

जयकिशनदास सादानी*

सूरदास का काव्य उदात्त आध्यात्मिक विचारों का समवेत संगीत है जिसमें भक्ति एवं भगवद् शरणा-गति आनन्द में ऐसे निमग्न हो जाते हैं मानों भक्ति, भाव-समाधि की विलक्षण संगीतात्मक शब्दावली में व्यक्त हो उठी हों ।

सूरसागर सूरदास के पदों का विराट काव्य संग्रह है । यह तो दिव्य आनन्द का लहराता हुआ समुद्र है जिसमें विभिन्न भावों एवं विचारों की धाराएँ, दर्शन एवं ज्ञान की तरंगों में घुल-मिल कर, भगवान् श्री कृष्णरूपी महोदधि में एकाकार हो जाती है । सूरसागर रस-सिन्धु है जिसमें श्री वल्लभाचार्य का शुद्धाद्वैत दर्शन निरंतर तरंगावित होता रहता है । हमारे आधुनिक कवि जगदीश गुप्त कहते हैं “सागर सूर तो एसो रच्यो । विरंचि को सागर सीप सो लागे ।”

सूरदास ब्रजभाषा के जनक माने जाते हैं, किन्तु यह सबसे आश्चर्य की बात है कि भाषा के इस उषाकाल में वे मध्याह्न सूर्य की तरह पूर्ण गरिमा के साथ देदीप्यमान हैं । उनका काव्य शुद्धाद्वैत के रसात्मक भाव से अभिभूत हैं एवं भगवद् अनुग्रह के सिद्धांत को रसात्मक, पदों में प्रतिपादित करता है । भगवान् की सृष्टि-संरचना ही अपने आप में एक विराट “अनुग्रह” है, पोषणम् तद् अनुग्रहम् । (श्रीमद्भागवत, 2-10-4) । इसलिए भगवत् अनुग्रह प्राप्ति करना जीवन का सर्वोच्च लक्ष्य है । पुष्टिमागों अनुग्रहैक साध्यः । (अणु. 4-4-9); इसे प्राप्त करने के लिए विनम्र प्रयास करना चाहिए । दैन्य भाव से किया हुआ प्रयत्न अपने आपमें एक उपलब्धि है जो भगवद् अनुग्रह को अपनी ओर आकर्षित करता है ।

भगवद् अनुग्रह वह दिव्य शक्ति है जो मनुष्य को विपन्नता से मुक्त कर देती है ।

अत्यंत विनम्रभाव से सूरदास भगवद् कृपा की विलक्षणता का वर्णन मंगलाचरण में ही कर देते हैं ।

“चरण कमल बन्दौ हरि गुई ।

जाकी कृपा पंगु गिरि लंवे, अंधे को सब कुछ दरसाई ॥

बहिरौ सुनै, गूँग पूनि बोलै, रंक चले सिर छत्र धराई ।

सूरदास स्वामी करुणामय, बार बार बंदौ तिहि पाई ॥ (सू. साहब)

भगवद् अनुग्रह को मनुष्य कैसे प्राप्त कर सकता है ? भगवान् श्री कृष्ण के लिए अनन्य भाव से प्रेम जिससे हमारा सारा जीवन उनकी उनकी सेवा ही बन जाय और हमारा हर काम उनके चरणों में निवेदित हो जाय एवं सभी कार्यो द्वारा हम सदा श्री कृष्ण का ही भजन करें । “सर्वदा सर्वभावेन भजनीयो ब्रजाधिपः (चतु. श्लोकी) । इस प्रकार निरंतर एकाग्र चित्त से की हुई भक्ति से अनुग्रह सहज प्राप्त हो जाता है ।

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“सब तजी भजिए नंदकुमार ।

और भजे तै काम सरै नाहि मिटे न भव-जंजार (सू. सा. पृ. 23)

किन्तु यह तभी संभव हो सकता है जब हमारा जीवन पवित्र एवं विकार रहित हो जाता है । जो काम, क्रोध, लोभ, मोह से ग्रस्त है उनका हरिभक्ति में कोई स्थान नहीं है । जिनका मन सांसारिक भोग वासनाओं में उलझा हुआ है उनका भगवद् भक्ति में प्रवेश ही नहीं है ।

वल्लभाचार्य कहते हैं “विषयाक्रान्तदेहानां नावेशः सर्वथा हरे” (स. नि....2,6) इसी बात को वह पुनः सुबोधिनी में दोहरा देते हैं

“कामादिना” शिथिलित्वे भक्तिर्नोत्पस्यते (सु. भा.)

इसी भाव को सूरदास कहते हैं

“मन रे, माधो से करि प्रीति ।

काम-क्रोध-मद-लोभ तू, छोडि सर्वे विपरीति ॥ (सू. सा., पृ. 126)

सूरसागर विनय के पदों से प्रारम्भ होता है, जो भगवद् अनुग्रह प्राप्त करने की प्रार्थना का स्वरूप है । सूरदास कहते हैं कि भगवद् नाम अनुकम्पा उस नौका की तरह है जो हमें तार देती है ।

सूर प्रभु को सुजस गावत, नाम नौका तरन (सू. सा., 1-202)

जब भक्ति द्वारा मन पवित्र हो जाता है तभी शुद्धाद्वैत के सूक्ष्म चिंतन व दर्शन को हम अनुभूत कर सकते हैं एवं तदनुरूप जीवन को बना सकते हैं कवि वर्द्धेश्वर्य के शब्दों में हम सूरदास के काव्य के बारे में यह कह सकते हैं कि “पवित्रता, गुणग्राह्यता, ज्ञान एवं आनन्द उनके जीवन में संगीत व काव्य के रूप में अवतरित हुए हैं ।” Pure passions, virtue, knowledge and delight, The holy life of music and of verse. (Prelude, 1.33)

शुद्धाद्वैत दर्शन को “ब्रह्मवाद” या “अविकृत परिणामवाद” कहते हैं । इसका वर्णन करते हुए श्री वल्लभाचार्य लिखते हैं कि इसमें माया का संबंध “प्रतीति” से नहीं है ।

“माया संबन्धरहितं शुद्धमित्युच्यते”

वे माया को ब्रह्म की अभिव्यक्ति-शक्ति मानते हैं । अतः वह प्रतीति नहीं अपितु वास्तविक है इसलिए वे ब्रह्म को शुद्धाद्वैत कहते हैं । इसे ब्रह्मवाद इसलिए मानते हैं कि आत्मा एवं सारी सृष्टि ब्रह्म ही है केवल ब्रह्म । इसे “अविकृत परिणामवाद” भी कहते हैं क्योंकि जब अनन्त ब्रह्म अपने आपको जगत् एवं जीव के रूप में अभिव्यक्ति करता है तो उसमें कोई परिवर्तन नहीं होता जैसे स्वर्ण से नाना प्रकार के आभूषण बना लेने पर भी स्वर्ण में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं होता ।

शुद्धाद्वैत दर्शन चार महान ग्रन्थों पर आधारित है । वल्लभाचार्य के पूर्ववर्ती आचार्यों ने तीन ग्रन्थों को आधार बनाया था—वेद, ब्रह्मसूत्र एवं गीता, जिन्हें वे प्रस्थानत्रयी कहते थे । वल्लभाचार्य ने इसमें श्रीमद् भागवत को और जोड़ दिया और उन्होंने इन्हें “प्रस्थान चतुष्टयी” नाम से संबोधित किया ।

“वेदा श्री कृष्ण वाक्यानि व्यास सूत्राणि चैव हि ।

समाभिभाषा व्यासस्य प्रमाणं तच्चतुष्टयम् ॥ (ता. शा. प्र. 7)

सूरदास ने अपने चिन्तन व भावों को मुख्यः भागवत् पर आधारित किया है । कहीं कहीं इनके पदों में वेद, उपनिषद्, गीता एवं ब्रह्मसूत्र की अनुगूँज भी उठती है लेकिन उनकी अभिव्यक्ति सर्वथा मौलिक एवं रसमयी है ।

शुद्धाद्वैत में ब्रह्म : जीव, जगत् एवं समस्त सृष्टि ब्रह्म ही है। सब क्रियाओं का वही संचालक है क्योंकि सब कुछ उसी में निहित है। वही देश, काल कारण एवं कर्ता है क्योंकि सब का स्रोत वही है।

वही परमेश्वर सबका स्वामी एवं सब में वास करते हुए पूर्ण दीप्ति के साथ दैदीप्यमान है। मानव मन उसकी याह लेने में अक्षम है। सारी विचार धाराएँ उसके प्रभुत्व की ओर इन्गित मात्र कर सकती हैं उसको ग्रहण नहीं कर पातीं। ब्रह्म के अनेक अवतार हैं वह नित्य परिवर्तित होता सभी का अपरिवर्तित है। सभी विरोधाभासों का समूह होते हुए भी उसमें सभी का समीकरण निहित है। वह अनन्त अनामय एवं तर्कातीत है। इसलिए मानव उसे तर्क से नहीं जान सकता। वह विरुद्ध धर्मों का आश्रय है।

“अनन्तमूर्ति तद् ब्रह्म कूटस्थं चलमेव च ।
विरुद्धं सर्वं धर्माणामाश्रयं युक्त्यगोचरम् ॥ (7)

इन विरुद्ध धर्मों के मध्य उसका वास्तविक स्वरूप भास्वर है। समस्त सृष्टि का सृष्टा होने पर भी वह अकर्ता है क्योंकि सारी सृष्टि उसका अंश है। वह स्वयं ही स्वेच्छाया सृष्टि बना है। इस प्रकार सृष्टा और सृष्टि एक ही है। जहाँ समस्त द्वैत, अद्वैत में समा जाता है यही शुद्धाद्वैत है।

“स एवं हि जगत् कर्ता तथापि सगुणो ना हि ।
गुणाभिमानिनो ये हि तद्देवाः सगुणाः स्मृताः ॥ (वही, 77)

सूरदास ब्रह्म के निर्गुण रूप को स्वीकार करते हैं लेकिन निराकार रूप सीमित मन एवं वाणी द्वारा अगम्य होने के कारण वे सगुण ब्रह्म की ही उपासना करते हैं।

“मन वाणी को अगम अगोचर, सो जाने सो पावे
रूप रेख गुन जाति जुगति विनु निरालम्ब कित धावै
सब विधि अगम विचारहिं ताते सूर सगुन पद गावै ।” (सू.सा., 125)

ब्रह्म का कोई प्राकृत आकार या स्वरूप नहीं है कोई गुण। इसलिए जितने ही रूप हम देखते हैं वे सब उसके आन्तरिक आनन्द की भिन्न भिन्न अभिव्यक्तियाँ हैं। बल्लभाचार्य कहते हैं कि ब्रह्म के सभी गुण अप्राकृत हैं अथवा आध्यात्मिक हैं उसके देह और अवयवों का विस्तार अनन्त है और सब के सब आनन्द निर्मित हैं। वह सर्व गुण सम्पन्न गुणातीत एवं भेद रहित है।

“निर्दोषपूर्णगुणविग्रह आत्मतन्त्रः से
निश्चेतनात्मकं शरीरं गुणैश्च हीनः ।
आनन्द मात्र करपादमुखोदरादिः
सर्वत्र च त्रिविधभेदविवर्जितात्मा ॥ (त. शा., 44)

ब्रह्म के विराट् स्वरूप का वर्णन करते हुए बल्लभाचार्य लिखते हैं :-

“आकाशवद् व्यापकं हि ब्रह्म मायांशवेष्टितम् ।
सर्वतः पाणि पादान्तं सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ॥ (त. शा., 25)

इसी सिद्धांत को सूरदास पद में गाते हैं ।

नैननि निरखि स्याम स्वरूप ।

रह्यो घट-घट व्यापि सोई ज्योति रूप अनूप ।

चरन सप्त पत्ताल जाके, सीस है आकाश

सूर-चन्द्र-नक्षत्र-पावक सर्व तासु प्रकाश ॥ (सू. सा., पृ. 123)

इस प्रकार ब्रह्म अपनी परम आध्यात्मिक शक्ति द्वारा असीम होते हुए भी सीम के रूप में अभिव्यक्त होता है और समस्त सृष्टि का स्रोत बन जाता है । इस प्रक्रिया को वल्लभाचार्य आविर्भाव-प्रकट करना और तिरोभाव-विलीन करना चाहते हैं । इस विलक्षण शक्ति या माया द्वारा ब्रह्म सारी सृष्टि की संरचना करता है और उसे पुनः अपने में ही विलीन करता है ।

यह सारी प्रक्रिया या लीला ब्रह्म में ही निष्पन्न होती है क्योंकि वास्तव में उसके सिवाय अन्य कोई है ही नहीं ? “एकोऽयम् अद्वितीयम्” इस प्रकार समस्त संसृति का कारण ब्रह्म ही है । सूरदास इसी भाव को अपने पद द्वारा व्यक्त करते हैं ।

“पहिलै हौ ही हो तब एक

अमल, अकल, अज, भेद विवर्जित सुनि विधि विभूल विवेक

सो हो एक अनेक भांति करि सोभित नाना भेष

ता पछि इन गुन गिनए तै हौ रहि हौ अवसेष”

“प्रथम ज्ञान, विज्ञान द्वितीय मत तृतीय भक्ति को भाव

सूरदास सोई समष्टि करि दृष्टि दृष्टि नमलाव (सू. सा., पृ. 27)

सृष्टि संरचना :- वल्लभाचार्य की दृष्टि में सृष्टि का कोई नव निर्माण नहीं होता है । ब्रह्म ही अपने आपको भिन्न भिन्न रूपों में अभिव्यक्त करता है । और साथ साथ अपने अखंड अद्वैत भाव में स्थित रहता है । विभक्त रूप में व्यक्त होते हुए भी अभिव्यक्त रहता है ।

“अखण्डाद्वैतमाने तु सर्व ब्रह्मैव नान्यथा” (वही, 9।)

सृष्टि संरचना का सूरदास वर्णन करते हैं :-

“जो हरि करे सो होइ, करता राम हरी

ज्यों दरपन में प्रतिबिंब त्यों सब सृष्टि करी ।

आदि निरंजन, निराकार, कोई हु तो न दूसर

रच्यों सृष्टि विस्तार, मई इच्छा एक ओसर ॥ (सू. सा., पृ. 25)

इस प्रकार ब्रह्म आविर्भाव और तिरोभाव द्वारा सारी सृष्टि की संरचना करता है ।

“जीव और जगत दोनों ही ब्रह्म के अंश है ।

“ममैवांशो जीवलोके जीवभूत सनातनः” (गी., 5-7)

इसलिए उनका अस्तित्व प्रतीति या मिथ्या नहीं है, वास्तव में सत्य हैं क्योंकि ब्रह्म स्वयं सत्य है । जड़ जगत एवं चेतन दोनों ही ब्रह्म के अंश होने के कारण सत्य है । ब्रह्म, सत्, चित् एवं आनन्द है । जड़ जगत में ब्रह्म के सत् तत्त्व का आविर्भाव होता है और चिद् आनन्द तत्त्व का तिरोभाव

जीव में सत् और चित् तत्त्व का आविर्भाव होता है और आनन्द तत्त्व का तिरोभाव है। आनन्द तत्त्व का तिरोभाव होते हुए भी वह अन्तर्यामी के रूप में प्रत्येक जीव के अन्तरतम में निवास करता है जैसे स्फुलिंग (चिनगारी) में अग्नि निहित है।

“सृष्टयादौ निर्गताः सर्वे निराकारास्तदिच्छया।

विस्फुलिङ्गा इवाग्नेस्तु सदंशेन जडा अपि” ॥ (त. शा., 27.)

“आनन्दांश आनन्दांश स्वरूपेण सर्वान्तर्यामि रूपिणः” ॥ (त. शा., 28.)

“सच्चिदानन्दरूपेषु पूर्णा” (वही 29)

“यथाग्नेः क्षुद्राः विस्फुलिङ्गाः व्युच्चरन्ति” (बृ. उप., 2-1-27)

ब्रह्म सब जीवों में अन्तर्यामी के रूप में निवास करता है फिर भी उसका आनन्दांश कर्मों एवं उनके फलों से प्रभावित नहीं होता। ब्रह्म सच्चिदानन्द होने के कारण अनन्त एवं सर्वव्यापी है।

शुद्धाद्वैत दर्शन में श्रीकृष्ण को पूर्ण पुरुषोत्तम पर ब्रह्म माना है।

“सच्चिदानन्दरूपेषु पूर्वयोरन्यलीनता ॥” (वही, 29)

ब्रह्म सृष्टि संरचना क्यों करता है : इस प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं दिया जा सकता क्योंकि यह तो ब्रह्म का स्वभाव ही है जिसके पीछे कोई विशेष प्रयोजन नहीं है। “न प्रयोजनत्तवात्” (ब्र. सू., 2-1-32) सृष्टि तो ब्रह्म की स्वभावगत संकल्प या इच्छा ही है। जैसे एक कलाकार अपनी सर्जना से प्रेरित होकर कलाकृति का अपने आनन्द के लिए निर्माण करता है वैसे परब्रह्म सृष्टि संरचना करता है। “लोक वात् लीला कैवल्यम्” (ब्र. सू. 2-1-32) पर ब्रह्म स्व आनन्द के लिये ही सृजन करता है। इसका बृहद् आरण्यक उपनिषद् में भी उल्लेख हुआ है।

“स व नैव रेमे तस्मादेकाकी न रमते स द्वितीय मैच्छत” (1-4-3) वह एकाकी रमण नहीं कर सकता या इसलिए अनेक होने की इच्छा प्रकट हुई। यही सृष्टि है। इस प्रकार सृष्टि और सृष्टा एक हो जाते हैं, क्योंकि सृष्टा ही स्वयं सृष्टि के रूप में अभिव्यक्त होता है।

अहं बाव सृष्टिरस्मि, अहं हीदं सर्वम्—

साक्षमि ततः सृष्टिर्भवत्” (ब्र.सू.अणु.भा., 1-4-5)

“अज, अविनाशी, अमर प्रभु जबपै मरै न सोई

नश्वत करत कला सकल, बूझे विरला कोइ” (सू.सा., पृ. 126)

“खेवनहार न खेवह मेरे अब मो नाष अरी,

सूरदास प्रभु तब चरनन की आस लागि उबरी” (सू.सा., 60)

अतः समग्र शरणागति से ही परब्रह्म पुरुषोत्तम का साक्षात्कार संभव है।

भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण का अवतार : श्री कृष्ण गीता में उद्घोष करते हैं कि भगवान् का मनुष्य के रूप में अवतार लेने का हेतु धर्म का संस्थापन है और दुष्कृत्य करनेवालों का विनाश (गी., 4/7) पंचरात्र के चतुर्थूह मत के अनुरूप बल्लभाचार्य श्रीमद् भागवत को आधार बनाकर अवतारवाद की स्थापना करते हैं। श्रीमद् भागवत में चतुर्थूह मत का सीधा उल्लेख नहीं है। भगवान् का अवतार चार प्रकार से सम्पन्न होता है।

[सूरदास एवं शुद्धाद्वैत]

1. वासुदेव रूप में भगवान श्रीकृष्ण मोक्ष प्रदान करते हैं अर्थात् अहंता एवं ममता के व्यामोह से मुक्त करते हैं ।
2. प्रद्युम्न के रूप में सृष्टि का संरक्षण करते हैं तथा उसकी वंश परंपरा को गतिशील रखते हैं । काम और गृहस्थ जीवन के माध्यम से इसे सम्पन्न करते हैं ।
3. अनिरुद्ध रूप में धर्म की रक्षा करते हैं आध्यात्मिक जीवन को प्रश्रय देते हुए मानव जीवन को उदात्त बनाते हैं ।
4. संकर्षण रूप में अधर्म और दुष्टत्यों का विनाश करते हुए धर्म की संस्थापना करते हैं ।

श्रीमद् भागवत को आधार बनाकर बल्लभाचार्य अवतार के हेतु की व्याख्या करते हैं :

धर्मसंस्थान व दुष्टतय करनेवालों के अतिरिक्त अवतार का एक और प्रमुख हेतु है, सृष्टि को आनन्द प्रदान कराना । इसके लिए भगवान श्रीकृष्णचन्द्र ने अलौकिक लीलाएँ चरितार्थ की जिसे वे यशोदानन्दन के रूप में सम्पन्न करते हैं । इसकी चरम परिणति रासलीला में होती है जो निरन्तर आनन्द प्रदान करती है । गोप, गोपी, ग्वालवाल के संग श्रीकृष्ण की समस्त लीलाएँ, रसात्मक आनन्द प्रदायिनी हैं जो लौकिक व्यवहार से ऊपर उठकर, जीवों के अंतर्तम में निवास करनेवाले, आध्यात्मिक धाम में प्रवेश करती हैं । इसलिए भगवान श्रीकृष्ण की रासलीला, नित्य यानी शाश्वत है । जब भगवान का अवतार होता है तब वे अपनी आनन्द प्रसारिणी शक्तियों के साथ अवतरित होते हैं । जिस भूमि पर वे अवतरित होते हैं वह पावन हो जाती है । इसलिए व्रजभूमि मात्र भौगोलिक प्रदेश नहीं है । वह तो लीला पुरुषोत्तम का अनन्त आध्यात्मिक दिव्य धाम है । सूरदास ने व्रजभूमि, भगवद् क्रीड़ा व रासलीला पर अनेक पद रचे हैं ।

1. वंशीवट वृंदावन यमुना, तजि वैकुण्ठ न जावे
सूरदास हरि को सुमरन करि, बहुदिन भव चल आवे (सु.सा., पृ. 116)
2. रास-रस-रीति बरनि आवे ।
कहां वैसी बुद्धि, कहां वह मन लाहौ-कहां चित्त, जिय भ्रम भुलावै ॥

जौ कहौ कोन माने, जो निगम-अगम-कृपा विनु नहीं या रस हि पावे । (वही, पृ. 608)

रासलीला तो जीव और भगवद् मिलन के आनन्द रस प्राप्ति की अलौकिक लीला है । वह तो भाव-समाधि ही है ।

जीव सिद्धांत : ब्रह्म के सद्, चिद् एवं आनन्द, स्वरूप में जब सत् एवं चिद् का आविर्भाव होता है और आनन्द का तिरोभाव हो जाता है तब अनेक जीवों का आविर्भाव होता है । ये जीव ब्रह्म के अंश हैं जिस प्रकार स्फुलिंग अग्नि के होते हैं ।

अक्षर ब्रह्म ही अगणित जीवों के रूप में अभिव्यक्त होता है और समस्त शरीर में व्याप्त रहता है । चैतन्य या चैतना ही जीव का प्रमुख गुण है । “जीवस्य हि चैतन्य गुणः स सर्वं शरीर व्यापी” (अणुभाष्य, 2-3-25) जब ब्रह्म के षड् गुणों श्री, यश, ऐश्वर्य, वीर्य, ज्ञान, वैराग्य में से उसकी इच्छा से कोई भी गुण तिरोहित हो जाता है तो उसमें इतनी न्यूनता आ जाती है तब जीव का आविर्भाव होता है, जो ब्रह्म से अलग हो जाता है ।

इन गुणों के तिरोहित होने के कारण मनुष्य भ्रमित हो जाता है और अविद्या माया के मोह जाल

में उलझ कर स्वनिर्मित संसार के दुःखों को सहन करता है। इस विषम स्थिति से उबारने के लिए सूरदास प्रार्थना करते हैं :

“तृष्णा नाद करत घट भीतर, नाना विधि दै ताल ।
माया को कटि फेटा बांध्यों, लोक तिलक दिए भाल ।
कोटिक कला काछि, दिखराई जल थल सुधि नहीं काल ।
सूरदास की सबै अविद्या दूर करौ नंदलाल॥ (वही, पृ. 51)

भगवान श्रीकृष्ण के चरणों में भक्ति एवं शरणागति द्वारा ही जीव इस खोए आनन्द को पुनः प्राप्त करता है और संसार के दुःखों को सहन करता है। और संसार के दुःखों से मुक्त होकर वह चार प्रकार की मुक्तियाँ प्राप्त करता है। :-सायुज्य, सालोक्य, सामीप्य और सारूप्य। वह जन्म मरण के चक्र से मुक्त होकर भगवद् लीला के अपार आनन्दका सहभागी बन जाता है।

वल्हभाचार्य ने जीवों का सूक्ष्म वर्गीकरण किया है जिसमें उन्होंने मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रवृत्तियों एवं आध्यात्मिक महत्त्व पर विशेष ध्यान दिया है। जीव मूलतः दो प्रकार के हैं—दैवी जीव एवं आसुरी जीव। दैवी जीव ब्रह्म के अधिक समीप है। उनका उद्धार शीघ्र हो जाता है। आसुर जीवों को कई जन्म जन्मांतरों का चक्कर लगाने के पश्चात् जब उनका जीवन पुनीत हो जाता है, तभी उनका उद्धार होता है।

जीवों के संबन्ध में सूरदास ने अधिकतर विनय, शरणागति, दैन्य भाव एवं भगवद् मिलन की आतुर विह्वलता व विरह का ही वर्णन किया है। शास्त्रीय विवेचन अत्यन्त अल्प ही है।

पतित पावन जानि सरन आयौ

उदधि संसार सुम नाम नौका तरन, अटल अस्थान निजु निगम गायौ ।

सूर प्रभु स्वरन चित्त चेति चेतन करता, ब्रह्म-सिव-सेस-सुक-सन बुध्यायौ। (सू.सा., पृ. 49)

अब माहि सरन राखिये नाथ ।

कृपा करी जो गुरुजन पठए, बह्यौ जात गह्यौ हाथ ।

अहं भाव तै तुम बिसराए, ईतनेहि छुट्यौ हाथ ।

भवसागर में परयौ प्रकृति बस, बांध्यो फिरयौ अनाथ ।

कर्म, धर्म, तीरथ, बिनु राघव, हवै गए सकल अकाथ ।

अभय दान दे, अपनौ कर घरि सूरदास कै माथ । (सू.सा., पृ. 68)

जगत विश्व एवं ब्रह्माण्ड

अक्षर ब्रह्म स्वेच्छा से चिद् एवं आनन्द का तिरोधान करते हुए जगत के रूप में आविर्भूत होता है। अतः परब्रह्म का सत् तत्त्व ही जगत है।

जगत ब्रह्म का अविकृत परिणाम है। ब्रह्म ही इसका निमित्त (निर्माता) एवं उपादान, (पार्थिव) कारण है। इसकी उपमा “मुण्डक उपनिषद्” मकड़ी से देता है। मकड़ी अपनी ही देह से जाले का निर्माण करती है और पुनः उसको अपने में ही समेट लेती है।

ब्रह्म ही जगत का समवायी व निमित्त कारण है। वह अपने आप में रमण करते हुए अपने सुख के लिये प्रपंच की संरचना करता है। जगत ब्रह्म के सत् तत्त्व से आविर्भूत होने के कारण वह सत्य एवं

सूरदास एवं अद्वैत]

वास्तविक है। वह न तो विवर्त या भ्रम है और न माया निर्मित अध्याय या आरोपण। वल्लभाचार्य अव्यक्त ब्रह्म को व्यक्त करनेवाली शक्ति को माया मानते हैं। ब्रह्म सत्य है इसलिए माया भी सत्य है।

जगत् की प्रकृति : सृष्टि प्रसारण हेतु पर ब्रह्म स्वेच्छया अक्षर ब्रह्म बन जाता है जो पुरुष, काल, कर्म और स्वभाव को स्वीकृत करता है। अपने ही चिद् अंश से वह पुरुष और प्रकृति बनाता है और 26 तत्त्वों में अभिव्यक्त होता है। इस तरह समस्त सृष्टि का आधार कुल 28 तत्त्व हैं

- 5 कर्मेन्द्रियां
- 5 ज्ञानेन्द्रियां
- 5 तन्मात्राएँ—शब्द, स्पर्श, रूप—रस—गन्ध
- 5 महाभूत—अकाश—वायु—अग्नि—जल—पृथ्वी
- 1 मन
- 1 अहंकार
- 3 गुण—सर्व—रजस—तमस
- 1 पुरुष
- 1 प्रकृति
- 1 महत्—(बुद्धि—चित्त)

सामूहिक रूप से समस्त जगज्ज विराट् पुरुष ही है। इसका अन्तर्यामी परब्रह्म ही है। सूरदास कहते हैं ;

“त्रिगुण प्रकृति तैं महत्तत्त्व तैं अहंकार
मन—इन्द्रिय—शब्दादि तातैं कियो निस्तार
सबदापि तैं पंचभूत सुन्दर प्रगटाए ।
पुनि सब रचि अंड आयु में आप समाए
तीन लोक निज देह में राखे कर विस्तार
आदि पुरुष सोई भयो जो प्रभु अगम अपार” (सू.सा., पृ. 126)

जगत्, संसार और माया : प्रायः जगत् एवं संसार पर्यायवाची से माने जाते हैं और उसी रूप में उनका प्रयोग होता है। वल्लभाचार्य ने इन दोनों शब्दों में सूक्ष्म भेद बताया है। जगत् अक्षर ब्रह्म या ईश्वर की अभिव्यक्त करनेवाली माया शक्ति द्वारा आविर्भूत हुआ है इसलिए सत्य है जब कि संसार जीव के अहंकार एवं अविद्या माया निर्मित है, अतः मिथ्या है।

“प्रपंचो भगवदत्कार्यस्तदूर्णो माययाऽभक्त ।
तत्त्वकथाऽविद्यया त्वस्मै जीव संसार उच्यते ॥ (वही, 23)
विद्याऽविद्ये हरेः शक्ती मायैव विनिर्मिते । (वही, 31)

यह अविद्या माया या अज्ञान जीव को संसार के बन्धनों में जकड़ देती है। सूरदास इस बन्धन से मुक्त होने के लिए बार बार अपने आराध्य से प्रार्थना करते हैं।

अब मैं माया हाथ बिकानौ ।

पर बस भयो पसु ज्यौ रजु बस, भज्यौ न श्रीपति रानौ । (सू.सा.पृ. 17)

जीव संसार से तभी मुक्त हो सकता है जब विद्या मोया उसके अज्ञान को मिटा देती है। यह तभी संभव होता है जब भगवद् अनुग्रह होता है।

मोक्ष एवं परलोक : संसार के दुःखों से निवृत्ति एवं नित्य आनन्द की प्राप्ति को ही मोक्ष कहते हैं। यह भक्ति एवं भगवद् कृपा-अनुग्रह से ही प्राप्त होती है। वल्लभाचार्य कहते हैं जब विद्या द्वारा अविद्या का निःशेष होता है तभी जीव मुक्त होता है।

यह स्थिति जीव को तभी प्राप्त होती है जब श्री प्रारब्ध कर्म भक्ति एवं भगवद् अनुग्रह से विनष्ट हो जाते हैं। वल्लभाचार्य परंपरानुरूप चार प्रकार की मुक्तियों का उल्लेख करते हैं :

1. सालोक्य मुक्ति : श्रीकृष्ण के दिव्यधाम या लीलाधाम में प्रवेश करना है।
2. सामीप्य मुक्ति : श्रीकृष्ण के समीप बैठना उनके चरणों की शरण में निवास करना है।
3. साख्य मुक्ति : श्रीकृष्ण के साथ मैत्री या सखा भाव है, जैसे वृन्दावन में ग्वालबाल एवं गोप सखा।
4. सायुज्य मुक्ति : श्रीकृष्ण के अखंड आनन्द में प्रवेश है। यह रासलीला में प्राप्त होता है।

इन चार मुक्त अवस्थाओं के अतिरिक्त श्री वल्लभाचार्य ने पांचवी भक्ति का समावेश किया है। यह है “सायुज्य अनुरूप मुक्ति, अवस्थानुरूप”। इसमें जीव भगवद् लीला में प्रवेश कर भगवान की लीला के आनन्द का सहभागी हो जाता है। मुक्तियों में यह सर्वोच्च मुक्ति है। जीव अपनी जीव-मुक्त अवस्था में भी भगवान के भजन के आनन्द में लीन रहना चाहता है। भगवान भगवद् अनुग्रह से भगवान की लीला के आनन्द का सदा अनुभव करता है। वल्लभाचार्य इस स्वरूपानन्द कहते हैं।

स्थूल एवं सूक्ष्म शरीर छोड़ने के पश्चात् जीव दिव्य देह प्राप्त करता है और ब्रह्म की लीला के आनन्द का सहभागी बनता है।

शान्ति एवं अंश जीवों का अक्षर ब्रह्म में समाहित हो जाते हैं। यही अद्वैत है।

भक्त : शुद्धाद्वैत के पुष्ट भक्त ब्रह्म के साम समानतया तारतम्य का भाव रखते हैं लेकिन एक्य की कामना नहीं करते हैं। वे आनन्द का निरन्तर अनुभव करना चाहते हैं लेकिन आनन्द-रूप बनना नहीं चाहते। इसलिए ब्रह्म भाव को प्राप्त करने के पश्चात् वे स्वयं रस रूप हो जाते हैं और तीन प्रकार से अनुभूति करते हैं।

1. रस रूप पुरुषोत्तम की लीला में प्रवेश करते हैं।
2. रस रूप पुरुषोत्तम की अवयव या अलंकार बन जाते हैं।
3. भगवद् आनन्द को दिव्य देह द्वारा अनुभव करते हैं।

वैकुण्ठ का आनन्द स्थूल है। इसलिए वल्लभाचार्य गोकुल को वैकुण्ठ से श्रेष्ठ व उत्तम मानते हैं। सूरदास कहते हैं :

“इहि ब्रज यह रस निरय है, मैं अब समुज्यो आइ।

वृन्दावन रज हवै रहौ, ब्रह्म लोक न सुहाई ॥ (सू.सा., पृ. 430)

“वृन्दावन ब्रज को महत कापै बरन्यो जाइ।

चतुरानन पग परिसि कैलोक गयो सुख पाइ ॥ (वही, पृ. 431)

गोकुल अनन्त धाम है जहाँ श्रीकृष्ण अपनी षड् गुण सम्पन्न दिव्य आध्यात्मिक देह द्वारा रमण करते हैं। यह आनन्द विग्रह है। यह अक्षर ब्रह्म और अक्षरधाम दोनों ही है। इसलिए गोकुल, वृन्दावन, गोलोक भौगोलिक प्रदेश नहीं है अपितु भगवान के अनन्तधाम है। यह अनन्त और सर्वत्र है। (वही 4-12-15) अतः भगवान की लीला की अनुभूति ही मोक्ष है और उसमें प्रवेश ही परमा मुक्ति है।

“लीलैव केवल्यं जीवानां मुक्ति रूपम्

तत्र प्रवेशः परमा मुक्तिरित्य यावदिहार्थः । (वही, 4-4-14)

यह परमा मुक्ति ब्रह्मैक्य मुक्ति से उत्तम है क्योंकि कि जीव भजन अर्थात् भगवद् लीला है के आनन्द का अर्थात् भजनानन्द का दिव्य देह प्राप्त करने के बाद अनुभव करता है। यह पुष्टि मार्ग की पूर्ण मुक्ति है।

“मुक्तोऽपि जीवः पुष्टिमार्गेऽगीकृतो भगवद्विग्रह

प्राप्त भजवानन्द प्राप्नोति इति सिद्धम्.....

इस प्रकार जीव और ब्रह्म के मिलन व एक्य का समोधान हो जाता है। शरीर के रूप में जीव ब्रह्म की लीला का आनन्द लेता है। और अशरीरी रूप में ब्रह्म एकक्य होने से जीव का ब्रह्म में विलय हो जाता है और ब्रह्म के साथ जीव भी उसकी लीला के आनन्द का अनुभव करता है। इस प्रकार द्वैत और अद्वैत परक दोनों भुक्तियों का बल्लभाचार्य अणु भाष्य में समन्वय करते हैं। सूरदास कहते हैं :-

“चितवनि रोकै हूँ न रही

स्याम सुन्दर सिन्धु-सनमुख सरित उमंगि बही

मिल्ली सूर स्वभाव स्यामहि फेरि हूँ न चही” (सू. सा., 237)

“गोपिन मंडल नित्य विराजत निसी दिन करत बिहार

सहस रूप, बहुरूप, पुनि एकरूप पुनि दीय ॥”

देह के क्रियाशील हुए बिना अनुभूति जीव को कैसे होती है यह मधुर अनुभव स्वप्न में शरीर के बिना सहयोग के होता है। इस स्थिति में देह के सहयोग बिना ही देह का अनुभव होता है।

इस प्रकार प्रत्यक्ष दिखनेवाले द्वैत का अद्वैत में समन्वय होता है। यह शुद्धाद्वैत का परम लक्ष्य है। यही महारास है। सूरदास इस आध्यात्मिक अनुभूति का विलक्षण वर्णन करते हैं : जिसमें “राधा” देखते देखते ही कृष्ण बन जाती है।

सुनहु श्याम इक बात नई ।

आज रास राधा अवलोक्यौ, मेरे मनमें भूल भई ।

तुम सम नैन, बैन तुम ही सम, आनन्द केलि ठई ।

तुम्हरी रूप, धर्यौ तुम ही सौ, तुमही सौ भई, तुम ही भई ॥

माथे मुकुट, पोत पट, मुरली बनवाला, छवि छाति छई ।

रंचक भेद रह्यो या तन में, और सकल विधि पलाहि रई ॥

यह कौतुक अनुपम मन मोहन, मनहुं घोष रस बेलि बई ।

सूरदास स्वामी के परसन ललिता बलि बलि हार गई ॥ (सू. सा., परि. 52)

गोपी : गोपियाँ परब्रह्म श्रीकृष्ण की आनन्द प्रसारिणी शक्तियाँ हैं। गोपी शब्द का व्युत्पन्न अर्थ ही गो = प्रकाशः पी = पान करने वाली, जो निरन्तर प्रकाश या आनन्द का पान करती है वही गोपी है। इसलिए गोपियाँ श्रीकृष्ण की रसात्मक सिद्धि शक्ति हैं और राधा श्रीकृष्ण की रसात्मक शक्ति या आनन्द शक्ति है। इन्हें आह्लादिनी शक्ति भी कहते हैं। रस और आनन्द पर्यायवाची ही है। राधा और श्रीकृष्ण, मुक्त जीव एवं परब्रह्म का ऐक्य किस प्रकार होता है इसका सूरदास अत्यंत मार्मिक निरूपण करते हैं :-

“जब राधा तब हीं मुख, माधौ, माधो रटत है।

जब माधो हूँ जात सकल पवन, राधा विरह दहै ॥ (सू. सा., 4723)

‘कृष्ण-विरह-विह्वल राधा, माधौ माधौ रटते रटते माधौ बन जाती है, और राधा के विरह से संतप्त होकर अत्यंत व्याकुल हो जाती है और राधे राधे पुकारने लगती है। जीव श्रीकृष्ण के निरन्तर चिन्तन से कृष्णमय हो जाता है और श्रीकृष्ण में विलीन होकर जीवों के कल्याण के लिए व्याकुल हो उठता है। इस परम दार्शनिक माहाभाव को सूरदास ने अत्यंत रसात्मक रूप में उपरोक्त पद में प्रस्तुत किया है।

जब परब्रह्म श्रीकृष्ण अवतार के रूप में अवितरित होते हैं तब वे अपनी रसशक्तियों के साथ उतरते हैं और अपने साथ लाते हैं-अपना लीला घाम या दिव्यघाम। वे हैं राधा, गोपियाँ, गोप व ग्वालबाल, ब्रज इत्यादि। यही कारण है ब्रज की लीलाएं भूतकालीन नहीं हैं। अपितु वे हैं दिव्य और अलौकिक होने के कारण सदा होती रहती हैं, वे चिरन्तन हैं।

श्री वल्लभाचार्य सुबोधिनी भाष्य में लिखते हैं : स्त्रिय एवं हि तं पातुं शक्तास्तु ततः पुमान्, अतो हि भगवान् कृष्णः स्त्रीषु रेमे अहर्निशम् । (4)

सूरदास इसी भाव को पुष्ट करते हैं :

“लक्ष्मी सहित होर नित क्रीडा सोभित सूरजदास ।

अब न सुहावत विषय-रस छील्य वा समुद्र की आस ॥ (सूर.सा., 337)

सत् एवं चित्त से आविर्भूतजीव आनन्द अंश की निरंतर खोज में रहते हैं इस महत्वपूर्ण अंश को खोजनेवाले भक्त गण ही गोपियाँ हैं। गोपी बने बिना ब्रह्म या श्रीकृष्ण के आनन्द अंश को भक्त कभी भी प्राप्त नहीं होते, कर सकते। भक्त की उत्कृष्टतम भूमिका की ओर निर्देश करते हुए नारद कहते हैं “यथा ब्रज गोपीकानाम्” (नारद भक्ति सूत्र 21) इसलिए गोपिकाएं व्यष्टि जीव हैं और श्रीकृष्ण पूर्ण पुरुषोत्तम परब्रह्म हैं।

वल्लभाचार्य ने तीन प्रकार की गोपियों का वर्गीकरण किया है :

अन्यपूर्वा, अनन्यपूर्वा एवं सामान्या ।

अन्यपूर्वा गोपियाँ वे हैं जिन्होंने अपना सर्वस्व भगवान को समर्पित कर दिया हो। इनका एकनिष्ठ प्रेम भगवान से ही है। संसार के सब व्यावहारिक कार्य करते हुए भी उनका ध्यान निरन्तर भगवान में ही रहता है। वे पुष्टि भक्त हैं और उच्चतम श्रेणी की हैं। प्रतीकारमक रूप में कहा जाय जो वे विवाहित गोपियाँ हैं जिनका भगवान श्रीकृष्ण के साथ एकनिष्ठ प्रेम है।

सूरदास एवं शुद्धादित]

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अनन्यपूर्वा गोपिकाएं वे हैं जिन्होंने अपना सर्वस्व भगवान को समर्पित कर दिया हो। उसका लौकिक जीवन से कोई संबंध नहीं है। वे तो संन्यासी हैं जो शास्त्रोक्त यम नियम का पालन करते हुए जीवन यापन करती हैं। रूपात्म रूपा में कहा जाय तो वे नित्य कुमारिकाएं हैं जो लौकिक विवाह इत्यादि नहीं करती हैं। वे पुष्टि मर्माश भक्त हैं। प्रेम संन्यासिनी हैं। वे उच्चतर कोटि की भक्त हैं।

सामान्या गोपिकाएं वे हैं जो भगवान श्रीकृष्ण को अपना बालक या पुत्र मानती हैं। उनका श्रीकृष्ण के साथ माता एवं पुत्र का संबंध है। इसमें वात्सल्य भाव ही प्रधान है। ये उच्च श्रेणी की भक्त हैं। ये पुष्टि प्रवाही हैं। बालकृष्ण की उपासना भक्ति का प्रथम सोपान है। यह मानव की सहज प्रवृत्ति के अनुकूल है कि जो उसे भगवदोन्मुख कर सकती है। बालक के प्रति मनुष्य का स्वाभाविक प्रेम होता है। इसी भाव से यशोदा व नन्द बाबाने श्रीकृष्ण की उपासना की। यही भाव सूरदास के काव्य का केन्द्रबिन्दु रहा है। इस भाव का मौलिक, आध्यात्मिक एवं सहज रसात्मक निरूपण सूरदास ने किया है। इसे साहित्य में वात्सल्य रस कहा गया है। कुछ उदाहरण दृष्टव्य हैं :

“मैया मैं नहि माखन खायो ।

ख्याल परै ये सखा सबै मिलि, मेरे मुख लपटायौ” । (वही, 952)

“मैया मैं तो चंद खिलौना लै हौं ।

जे हौ लोटि धरनि पर अब हौं, तेरी गोद न एहौं ।” (वही, 811)

“सुत मुख देख यशोदा फूली ।

हरषित देख दूध की दंतियां, प्रेम मगन तन कौं सुधि भूली

सूरस्याम किलकत द्विज देख्यो, मनौ कमल पर विज्जु जमाई ।” (वही, 700)

श्रीकृष्ण माधुरी का अवलोकन करते हुए, प्रेम मगन होकर तन की सुधि बुध यदि कोई भूल जाय तो क्या आश्चर्य है। यही से तो भक्ति अकुरित होती है।

वल्लभाचार्य एक और श्रेणी के भक्तों का उल्लेख करते हैं। वे अत्यंत विनम्र एवं अहंकार रहित हैं। उसकी इस समग्र विनम्रता को दैन्य भाव कहते हैं। वे संपूर्ण रूप से श्रीकृष्ण के शरणागत हो जाते हैं। इसे प्रपत्ति भी कहते हैं। यहां भक्त अपने सर्व अहंकार को भगवान श्रीकृष्ण के चरणों में अर्पित कर देता है। प्रतीकात्मक रूप से वल्लभाचार्य इसे स्त्री-भाव कहते हैं। दैन्य-भाव या स्त्री-भाव में भक्त, अहंता और ममता दोनों से मुक्त हो जाता है। उसका सारा जीवन अत्यंत पावन या उदास हो जाता है। उन्हें आनन्द या मुक्ति प्रदान करने के लिये भगवान श्रीकृष्ण स्वयं आकर्षित होते हैं। उनके साथ तो परमात्मा अहर्निश रास करते हैं—निरंतर आनन्द प्रदान करते हैं।

“जो श्रुति रूप होय ब्रज मंडल कीन्हौ रास बिहार ।

नवल कुंज में, अंस बाहुधर कीन्हौ केलि अपार ॥

वृन्दावन, गोवर्धन, कुंजन, यमुना पलिन सुदेस ।

नित प्रति करत बिहार मधुर रस, स्यामा स्याम सुदेस ॥ (सू.नि., पृ. 371)

वल्लभाचार्य स्वयं भगवान श्रीकृष्ण की स्त्री-भाव से ही उपासना या सेवा करते थे।

“स्त्रिय एवं हितं पातुं शकतासु ततः पुमान् ।

“हम कौ विधि ब्रज बधू न कीन्ही, कहा अमर पुर वास भएँ ।

बार बार पछितात महं कहि, सख होते हरि संग रहैं ॥

यह कामना होइ क्यों पूरन, दासी हवै बर ब्रज रहियै ।

सूरदास प्रभु अन्तर जामी, ति नहि बिना कासौ कहिये ॥ (सू.सा., पृ. 620)

सूरदासने दैन्य भाव के अगणित पद लिखे हैं । सूर सागर का प्रारंभ ही वे विनय के पदों से करते हैं ।

“माधौ जू तुम कब जिय बिसर्यौ (9)

जौ जानौ यह सूर पतित नाहि, तौ तारो निज देत । (वही, पृ. 51)

“नाथ सकौ तो मोहि उधारौ ।

पतितन में विख्यात पतित हौ पावन नाम तुम्हारौ ।” (वही पृ. 43)

वल्लभाचार्य मनोवैज्ञानिक स्तर पर गोपिकाओं का यानी भक्तों की विभिन्न प्रवृत्तियों का गुणों के आधार पर विश्लेषण करते हैं । श्रीमद् भागवत की रास पंचाध्यायी के पांच अध्यायों में रासलीला या जीव एवं ब्रह्म-गोपिकाओं एवं श्रीकृष्ण के मिलन की दिव्य लीला का वर्णन किया गया है ।

इस महारास के वर्णन में यह दृष्टव्य है कि श्री वल्लभाचार्य ने सुवोधिनी भाष्य में कहीं राधा का उल्लेख नहीं किया है । उन्होंने राधा के बारे में अपने अन्य ग्रन्थों में भी कहीं कोई चर्चा नहीं की है । श्रीमद् भागवत में भी श्री राधा का नाम कहीं भी उद्धृत नहीं है । किन्तु सूरदास एवं अन्य अष्टछाप कवियों ने राधा का नाम विपुल वर्णन किया है । राधा को ब्रह्म की आह्लादिनी शक्ति या आनन्द प्रदान करनेवाली शक्ति माना है । सृष्टिकारिणी शक्ति या रस-रूप श्रीकृष्ण, या परब्रह्म की संसृति शक्ति माना है । अतः श्री राधा एवं श्रीकृष्ण अभिन्न हैं । उनका अनन्त मिलन “रासक्रीडा” में अभिव्यक्त है । राधा और कृष्ण की अभिन्नता एवं ऐक्य पर कितने विलक्षण पद सूरदास ने लिखे हैं, जिसमें कृष्ण का आधा स्वरूप राधा एवं आधा कृष्ण बन जाता है, इसी स्वरूप में वे ब्रज में अवतरण करते हैं । यह कृष्ण का अर्धनारीश्वर स्वरूप है । हर पुरुष में स्त्री, स्त्री में पुरुष निहित है इसका उल्लेख ऋग्वेद में आया है “स्त्रीयः सतीस्ताडमे पुंस आहुः” (ऋग्वेद-7-194-19) ने इसी भाव को आधुनिक मनोवैज्ञानिक सी. जी. जुंग “अनीमा” और “अनीमस” कहते हैं । और चीनी संस्कृति में यिंग और यैंग कहते हैं । दृष्टव्य है सूरदास के पद :

“राधा हरि, आधा आधा तनु एकै, दूवे है ब्रत में अवतरी ।

सूर स्याम रसभरी उमंगि अंग, वह छवि देखि रह्यो रति पती हरि ॥” (सू. सा., 2311)

“सुनि बृषभानु सुता मेरी बानी, प्रीति पुरातन राखहु गोई ।

सूर स्याम नागरिहि सुनावत, मैं तुम एक, नहिं हैं दोई ॥” (वही, 2310)

शुद्धाद्वैत दर्शन शंकर मत के अनुरूप समस्त सृष्टि को दिव्य मानता है और हर जीव की मूलभूत दिव्यता को स्वीकार करता है । ज्ञान के महत्त्व को विशिष्ट मानते हुए भी उसका विशेष बल भाव एवं भक्ति पर है । यह भावपक्ष को परिष्कार करते हुए जीव को भगवद् मिलन का मार्ग प्रशस्त करता है । जहाँ जीव भक्त परम पुरुष भगवान् श्रीकृष्णचन्द्र के महानीलोदधि में मिलकर धन्य हो जाता है ।

“चितवनि रो कै हूं न रही ।

स्याम सुन्दर सिन्धु-सनमुख, सरिता उमंगि बही ॥

प्रेम सलिल प्रवाह भैंवरनि, मिति ने कबहुं सही ।

लोभ-लहर-कटाक्ष घूँघट-पट-कगार दही ॥

सूरदास एवं शुद्धाद्वैत]

थके पल पथ नाव धीरज, परति नहि न गही ।

मिली सूर सुभाव स्यामहि, फेरिहु न चही ॥” (सू.सा., 2381)

श्रीमद् भागवत के दशम स्कंध में 14 श्लोक 39 से 52 भ्रमरगीत नाम से जाने जाते हैं । विरह दग्ध गोपिकाएं अपनी समस्त वेदना श्रीकृष्ण के मंत्री प्रवर एवं प्रिय सखा उद्धव के समक्ष निवेदित करती हैं । गोपिकाओं के हृदय सिन्धु में उमड़ती उच्छल प्रेम को विरह तरंगों को देखकर उद्धव हतप्रभ हो जाते हैं मानो वे इस महाभाव के सागर में डूब गए हों । उनका समस्त ज्ञानार्हकार विनम्र हो कर भगवान श्रीकृष्ण से प्रार्थना करने लगता है । “प्रभु मुझे तो वृन्दावन की लता औषधि बना देना जिससे गोपिकाओं के चरणों से उड़ी हुई रज मेरे मस्तक पर गिर कर मुझे कृतार्थ कर दे” ।

सूरदास भी इसी भाव की कामना करते हैं :

“कहा जनम जो नहीं हमारो, फिरि-फिरि ब्रज अवतार भलौ ।

वृन्दावन द्रुम-लता हूजियै, करता सौ मांगियै चलौ ॥” सू.सा., पृ. 620)

अपने प्रेमास्पद के लिए जो विरह-वेदना और व्याकुलता सूरदासने भ्रमरगीतमें अभिव्यक्त की है वैसी संभवतः विश्व साहित्य में नहीं पाई जाती ।

उद्धवजी आश्चर्य हो गया कि गोपिकाओं का अपने परम प्रिय पुरुषोत्तम भगवान श्रीकृष्णचन्द्र से मिलन ही नहीं वरन् ऐक्य हो चुका है । जैसे जैसे हम सूर सागर के अन्तिम पदों तक पहुँचते हैं उनका यह दिव्य मिलन जीव और ब्रह्म के रसात्मक ऐक्य में परिणत होने लगता है ।

“राधा माधव के रंग राचे, राधा माधो रंग गई ।

राधा माधव प्रीति निरंतर, रसना कहि सो कहि न गई ॥

विहंसी कह्यो हम तुम नहिं अंतर यह कहि के उन ब्रज पठथी ।

सूरदास प्रभु राधा माधव ब्रज विहार नित नई नई ॥” (वही, 4910)

यही शुद्धाद्वैत का ब्रह्म और जीव की एकता में भजनानन्द का भेद रखते हुए अभिन्न ऐक्य हो जाता है । यह सर्वोच्च मुक्ति है एवं शुद्धाद्वैत के अंतिम लक्ष्य की परिपूर्ति ।

बल्लभाचार्य का युग ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से संक्रमण काल का युग था । एक ओर भिन्न भिन्न प्रदेशों के राजा निरंतर युद्ध रत थे और दूसरी ओर विदेशी शक्तियाँ उन्हें पराभूत कर अपना शासन जमा चुकी थीं । जनता में विपन्नता और नैराश्य छाया हुआ था । ऐसी विषम स्थिति में बल्लभाचार्य एवं सूरदास का आना एक ऐतिहासिक अनिवार्यता था । उनके प्रेम मैत्री एवं आत्म विश्वास के सन्देश ने सब लोगों को पुनः अस्मिता एवं आत्म सम्मान प्रदान किया । जब जन के जीवन में पुनः नव उत्साह, नव जागरण, नव चेतना का संचार हुआ । नीरस जीवन नव रसधारा से रससिक्त हुआ । बल्लभाचार्य और सूरदास की प्रासंगिकता आज भी उतनी ही महत्वपूर्ण है जितनी पहले थी, संभवतः आज अधिक आवश्यक है जब हिंसा, प्रतिशोध एवं मूल्यों के हास ने समूचे देश एवं विश्व को प्रदुषित कर रखा । सूरदास के मधुर पद आज भी जन-जन में प्रेम, मैत्री, एवं भ्रातृत्व भाव संचार करने में सक्षम हैं ।

मोढगच्छ और मोढचैत्य

शिवप्रसाद*

निर्ग्रन्थदर्शन के श्वेताम्बर आम्नाय के अन्तर्गत चन्द्रकुल से निष्पन्न गच्छों में मोढगच्छ भी एक है। जैसा कि इसके नाम से स्पष्ट है मोढेरक [वर्तमान मोढेरा, उत्तर गुजरात] नामक स्थान से इस गच्छ को उत्पत्ति हुई। इस गच्छ का सर्वप्रथम उल्लेख घातु की दो प्रतिमाओं पर उत्कीर्ण लेखों में प्राप्त होता है। प्रथम लेख पार्श्वनाथ की त्रितीर्थी प्रतिमा पर उत्कीर्ण है। श्री सारामाई मणिलाल नवाब ने इस लेख की वाचना दी है^१, जो कुछ सुधार के साथ इस प्रकार है :

“श्रीचन्द्रकुले माढ [मोढ] गच्छे मुक्ति सामिहय श्रावको गोळी नमामि जिनत्रय ।”

द्वितीय लेख पार्श्वनाथ की अष्टतीर्थी प्रतिमा पर उत्कीर्ण है। श्री उमाकान्त प्रेमानन्द शाह ने इसकी वाचना इस प्रकार दी है^२ :

“ॐ श्रीचन्द्रकुले मोढगच्छेनिन्नट श्रावकस्य ।”

उक्त दोनों लेखों में न तो प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापक आचार्य का उल्लेख है और न ही उनकी प्रतिष्ठातिथि/मिति आदि की चर्चा है। फिर भी उक्त प्रतिमाओं के प्रतिमाशास्त्रीय अध्ययन और लेख की छिपि के आधार पर इन्हें वि. सम्बत् की ११वीं शती का माना गया है।

मोढगच्छ से सम्बद्ध तृतीय और अंतिम लेख वि. सं. १२२७ / ई. सन् ११६१ का है जो एक चतुर्विंशतिपट्ट पर उत्कीर्ण है। यह पट्ट आज मधुवन-सम्मेतशिखर स्थित जैन मंदिर में सुरक्षित है। श्री पूरनचंद नाहर ने इस लेख की वाचना की है^३, जो इस प्रकार है :

“सं. १२२७ वैशाख सुदि ३ गुरौ नंदाणि ग्रामेन्या श्राविकया आरामीय पुत्र लूणदे श्रेयर्थं चतुर्विंशति पट्टः कारितः ॥ श्रीमोढगच्छे बप्पभट्टिसूरिसंताने जिनभद्राचार्यैः प्रतिष्ठिता ॥”

इस लेख में मोढगच्छीय बप्पभट्टिसूरि के संतानीय अर्थात् उनकी परम्परा में हुए जिनभद्राचार्य का चतुर्विंशतिपट्ट के प्रतिष्ठापक के रूप में उल्लेख है।

मोढगच्छ से सम्बद्ध साहित्य साक्ष्यों के अन्तर्गत दो उल्लेख प्राप्त होते हैं। इनमें प्रथम साक्ष्य है वि. सं. १३२५ की कालिकाचार्यकथा की प्रतिलिपि की दाताप्रशस्ति^४—जिसमें मोढगुरु हरिप्रभसूरि का उल्लेख है। द्वितीय साक्ष्य है राजगच्छीय आचार्य प्रभाचन्द्रविरचित प्रभावकचरितं [रचनाकाल वि. सं. १३३४/ई. सन् १२७८] के अन्तर्गत “बप्पभट्टिसूरिचरित”, जिसमें पाटला स्थित नेमिनाथजिनालय के नियामक के रूप में मोढगच्छीय सिद्धसेनसूरि का उल्लेख है।^५

प्राध्यापक मधुसूदन ढांकी के अनुसार इस गच्छ के अनुयायी मुनिजन चैत्यवासी थे और वे जिनालयों से संलग्न उपाश्रयों में रहा करते थे। मोढेरा इनका प्रधान केन्द्र था। इसके अतिरिक्त पाटला, बंधूका, अणहिलपुरपत्तन और मांडला में भी इनके चैत्य थे।^६

* रिवर्स एसोसिएट, प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, संस्कृति और पुरातत्व विभाग, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी।

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[125]

मोढेरा जैन तीर्थ के रूप में यथेष्ट प्राचीन समय से ही प्रसिद्ध रहा है। मोढब्राह्मण और मोढवणिक ज्ञाति की उत्पत्ति यहीं से हुई।^{१०} यशोभद्रसूरेगच्छीय सिद्धसेनसूरिविरचित सकलतीर्थस्तोत्र [रचनाकाल ई. सन् १०७५ प्रायः] में जैनतीर्थस्थानों की सूची में इस स्थान का उल्लेख है।^{१८} प्रबन्धग्रन्थों में यहाँ स्थित महावीर स्वामी के जिनालय का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है जो मोढ ज्ञाति का प्रधान चैत्य और संभवतः इस ज्ञाति से भी प्राचीन माना जाता है।^{१८} प्रभावकचरित में बप्पभट्टसूरि द्वारा यहाँ दर्शनार्थ आने और सिद्धसेनसूरि द्वारा यहाँ वन्दन करने का उल्लेख है।^{१०} पुरातनप्रबन्धसंग्रह के अनुसार वलभी की नगर देवता द्वारा वलभी भंग के समय वर्धमानसूरि को निर्देश दिया गया था कि साधुओं को जहाँ भिक्षा में प्राप्त क्षीर रुधिर हो जाये और फिर रुधिर से पुनः क्षीर हो जाये, वहाँ उन्हें ठहर जाना चाहिए। इस प्रकार वे मोढेर में ठहरे।^{११}

पाटला स्थित मोढचैत्य भी मोढेरा के महावीर-जिनालय की भांति ही प्राचीन रहा है।^{१२} यह जिनालय नेमिनाथ को समर्पित था। प्रभावकचरित के अनुसार यह चैत्य सिद्धसेनसूरि के आधिपत्य में था।^{१३} अंचलगच्छीय महेन्द्रसूरि द्वारा रचित अष्टोत्तरीतीर्थमाला [रचनाकाल वि. सं. १२८७/ई. सन् १२२१ के पश्चात्] के अनुसार कन्नौज के राजा आम ने इस जिनालय का निर्माण कराया था।^{१४} वि. सं. १३६७/ई. सन् १३११ में शंखेश्वरपाश्र्वनाथ की यात्रा को जाते हुए खरतरगच्छीय आचार्य जिनचन्द्रसूरि 'द्वितीय' यहाँ पधारे थे।^{१५} वि. सं. १३७१/ई. सन् १३१५ में आदिनाथ जिनालय के जीर्णोद्धार से लौटते हुए समराशाह शंखेश्वर और मांडली के साथ यहाँ भी दर्शनार्थ आये थे।^{१६} जिनप्रभसूरिने कल्पप्रदीप के ८४ तीर्थस्थानों की सूची में इस तीर्थ का उल्लेख किया है और यहाँ नेमिनाथ-जिनालय होने की बात कही है।^{१७} गुजरात पर मुस्लिम आक्रमण के समय यहाँ स्थित जिनालय को भी क्षति उठानी पड़ी किन्तु खरतरगच्छीय अनुयायियों तथा समराशाह में यहाँ आने के पूर्व ही वह पुनः अपने प्राचीन गौरव को प्राप्त कर चुका था।^{१८} खरतरगच्छीय विनयप्रभसूरि [ई. सन् १३७५] और रत्नाकरगच्छीय जिनतिलकसूरि [ई. सन् १५ वीं शती का अंतिम चरन] ने भी यहाँ स्थित नेमिनाथ जिनालय का उल्लेख किया है।^{१८}

मोढज्ञाति का तीसरा चैत्य बंधूका में था जो मोढवसहिका के नाम से जाना जाता था। पूर्णतल्ल-गच्छीय आचार्य देवचन्द्रसूरि को अपने भावी शिष्य चांगदेव [हेमचन्द्राचार्य] से यहीं मेंट हुई थी।^{२०} आख्यानकमणिकोश [रचनाकाल वि. सं. १२ वीं शती/ई. सन् ११-१२ वीं शती] की प्रशस्ति में भी इस चैत्य का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है।^{२१} तपागच्छीय जिनहर्षगणि द्वारा रचित वस्तुपालचरित [रचनाकाल वि. सं. १४९७/ई. सन् १४४१] के अनुसार तेजपाल ने इस जिनालय के रंगमण्डप का जीर्णोद्धार कराया था।^{२२}

प्रभावकचरित के अनुसार अणहिलपुरपत्तन में भी एक मोढचैत्य था जिसमें बप्पभट्टिसूरि द्वारा जिनप्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापित की गयी थी।^{२३}

मण्डली [वर्तमान मांडल] में भी वस्तुपाल के समय एक मोढचैत्य था। वस्तुपालचरित के अनुसार उसने [या उसके लघुभ्राता ने] यहाँ मूलनायक की प्रतिमा निर्मित करायी थी।^{२४}

जैसा कि यहां पीछे कहा जा चुका है कि मोढवणिक ज्ञाति भी मोढेरा से ही अस्तित्व में आयी। वि. सं. की ११ वीं शती के प्रारम्भ से वि. सं. की १७ वीं तक के कई शिलालेखों और ग्रन्थों की दाताप्रशस्तियों में इस ज्ञाति का उल्लेख है, जिससे ज्ञात होता है कि इस ज्ञाति के श्रावक श्वेताम्बर मूर्तिपूजक सम्प्रदाय के विभिन्न गच्छों में बंटे हुए थे। १६ वीं शती में श्रीमद् बल्लभाचार्य के प्रभाव से अनेक मोढ परिवारों ने वैष्णव धर्म स्वीकार कर लिया। १७ वीं शती में श्वेताम्बर आम्नाय में लोकाशाह का उदय हुआ, इनके द्वारा उद्भूत लोकागच्छ से निकले अमूर्तिपूजक स्थानकवासी सम्प्रदाय में भी अनेक मोढ परिवार दीक्षित हो गये। आज भी पश्चिमी भारत और मध्यभारत में हजारों मोढ परिवार विद्यमान हैं जो वैष्णव और स्थानकवासी परम्परा से सम्बद्ध हैं।^{२५} मोढ ज्ञाति द्वारा अपने परम्परागत धर्म के परिवर्तन के परिणामस्वरूप न केवल मोढचैत्य और मोढगच्छ बल्कि श्वेताम्बर मूर्तिपूजक जैन परम्परा का एक महत्वपूर्ण अध्याय भी समाप्त हो गया।

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